

THE FAILURE OF THE U.S. RESERVATION POLICY
FOR THE NATIVE AMERICANS:
THE NAVAJO AT BOSQUE REDONDO, 1864-68

A THESIS PRESENTED BY
GÜLBEN ULUPINAR
TO
THE INSTITUTE OF
ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF HISTORY

BILKENT UNIVERSITY
JANUARY, 1999

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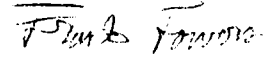
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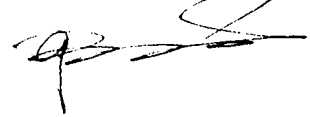
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ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to present the Bosque Redondo Reservation experience of the Navajo Indians (1864-68) as a failure of the United States Indian Reservation Policy. The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter gives background information about the Navajo Indians from 1680 to 1846. It concentrates on their changes in their culture and economy that resulted from contact with the Pueblo Indians and the Spaniards. Chapter Two covers the United States- Navajo political relationship prior to the Bosque Redondo period (1846-64). It focuses on the reasons behind the Navajo removal to Bosque Redondo. The third chapter of the thesis discusses the years that the Navajos lived at the Bosque Redondo and it explains why this reservation did not become a permanent settlement for the Navajo Indians.

The U.S. Government designed reservations to keep the wandering Native American tribes on restricted lands with well-defined borders in order to protect the white settlers from Indian attacks and to assimilate the Native Americans into American society. The Bosque Redondo Reservation was established for these purposes. However, economic difficulties, Navajo rejection of assimilation, a political dispute between the military officials and the officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs thwarted the reservation policy at Bosque Redondo, and showed the limitations on this government strategy for dealing with indigenous peoples.

This thesis uses primary and secondary sources to document the history of the Navajo. Government records from the National Archives, firsthand testimony by white travellers and the Navajo themselves comprise the bulk of primary sources.

ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı, Navajo yerlilerinin Bosque Redondo Rezarvasyonu'nda 1864-1868 yılları arasında yaşadıkları deneyimi Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin yerli halklar için öngördüğü rezarvasyon politikasının bir başarısızlığı olarak sunmaktır. Tez üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm, Navajo yerlilerinin geçmişleriyle birlikte Pueblo yerlileri ve İspanyollarla kurdukları ilişkiler sonucunda Navajo ekonomisinin ve kültürünün uğradığı değişimden söz etmektedir. İkinci bölüm ise, Navajo- Birleşik Devletler arasındaki Bosque Redondo öncesi politik ilişkileri ve Navajo yerlilerinin rezarvasyona yerleştirilmesinin sebeplerini anlatmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm ise Navajolar'ın Bosque Redondo Rezarvasyonu'nda geçirdikleri yılları incelemekte ve bu rezervasyonun neden Navajolar için uygun yerleşim yeri olmadığını açıklamaktadır.

Birleşik Devletler Hükümeti rezarvasyonları, serbest olarak dolaşan yerli kabilelerini sınırları çizilmiş belli bir toprak parçasına sokarak beyaz yerleşimcileri yerli saldırılarından korumayı ve aynı zamanda yerli halkların Amerikan toplumuna asimilasyonunu sağlamak amacıyla düzenlemiştir. Bosque Redondo Rezarvasyonu da bu amaçlar doğrultusunda Navajolar için oluşturulmuştur. Fakat, ekonomik güçlükler, Navajoların Amerikan asimilasyonuna karşı direnmeleri ve ordu görevlileri ile yerli halklarla ilişkileri düzenlemekten sorumlu devlet görevlileri arasındaki çekişme Birleşik Devletlerin rezarvasyon politikasını Bosque Redondo'da geçersiz kılmıştır. Bu deneyim, federal hükümete yerli halklarla ilgili politikasındaki bu stratejisinin sınırlarını göstermiştir.

Navajoların tarihi ile ilgili olarak bu tezde ana ve ikinci derecede kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Birleşik Devletler Ulusal Arşivlerindeki beyazların ve Navajoların kendileri ile ilgili olan ifadeleri ana kaynakların çoğunluğunu oluşturmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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To My Dear Family: Mum, Dad, Gökhan, Gülsen-Mehmet

*"Fragments of uniforms, open black ruins
A moral conscience- you've no wounds to show"
Richey James Edwards*

*"Life begins on the other side of despair"
Jean-Paul Sartre*

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I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the failure of the assimilationist reservation policy that the United States tried to impose on the Navajo Indians at the Bosque Redondo Reservation where the Navajo were held as prisoners of war between 1864 and 1868.

From beginning of Spanish colonization in New Mexico, to the arrival of U.S. settlers in the Southwest, the Navajo Indians remained free from outside military and political authority. In 1864, the campaign of U.S. General Kit Carson resulted in the surrender of 8,000 Navajos who were then exiled to the Bosque Redondo Reservation in southeastern New Mexico. At the Bosque, the Navajos became subject to the assimilation program of New Mexico Military Commander, General James H. Carlton.

The U.S. government wanted to confine the Navajo at a reservation in order to stop Navajo raids on Mexican-American and Pueblo Indian settlements, to provide security for miners and to open a path for future railroads and Anglo-American settlement. In addition to these military goals, Carlton wanted to test a new Indian policy that went beyond the old strategy of making treaties and leaving native peoples to handle their internal affairs. The United States pursued the policy of treaty making and segregation of Native American tribes from its foundation to 1871. The United States signed treaties either to purchase land or settle the conflict between Indians and Anglo-Americans. By making treaties, the United States recognized the tribal authority of Native Americans and gave "reserve land" to them where they would be free from taxation and any other

land claims. In addition, the United States agreed to pay for the lands that native peoples relinquished. The late-nineteenth century expansion of the United States to the West threatened lands reserved for Native Americans in earlier treaties. Now, instead of making treaties and creating Indian islands on the reserve land, the Federal Government considered as new type of reservation where Native Americans would be assimilated into mainstream culture and thereby no longer think and act like members of independent states. Farming was the most important part of this assimilation program. Through farming, Native Americans would give up the habit of wandering and hunting and lead a settled life that would stop their harassment of white settlers. In addition, making Indians self-sufficient farmers would save public money, which was spent for Indian rations and annuities.

Carlton had this purpose in his mind when he removed the Navajos to the Bosque Redondo. He wanted to make the Bosque a big Indian plantation where Indians would be farmers and their children would be educated according to American manners and taught Christianity. When the transformation was complete, the Navajos would melt into the American mainstream.

However, Carlton's ambitious plan never came true. The Bosque became a disaster four years after its establishment. The reservation lacked water and fuel. Alkali water caused death among the Navajos. They had to walk ten miles to find wood. The soil never produced sufficient crops to feed them. Moreover, insect parasites and natural disasters destroyed the fledgling farms and reduced the Navajos to starvation. Because of a feud between Carlton and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), federal money was not forthcoming to the fund the project.

The suffering of the Navajos ended when they signed a treaty on June 1, 1868. That agreement gave the BIA authority over the Navajo and allowed them to return to more productive land in their ancestral homes. Although Carlton's extreme plan for Navajo assimilation failed, the BIA maintained some of his ideas, such as educating Navajo children in government run schools and promoting vocational training in industrial arts.

The Bosque Redondo brought calamity to the Navajo, but it did not destroy them as a people. Before their exile to the Bosque, the Navajo lived as small bands scattered throughout territory bounded by what they called the "Four Sacred Mountains," an area of approximately 12 million square kilometers. Although, they shared the same culture, the Navajo never united as a whole nation. At the Bosque 8,000 Navajos came together and were treated as one nation by the United States. They experienced the same difficulties and they rallied around their cultural traditions to build a united front of resistance against Carlton's program. Carlton subdued the Navajos militarily, but he could not break their attachment to their culture.

In order to understand why the Navajo were exiled to the Bosque Redondo, it is important to know about Navajo contact with the Pueblos, Spaniards, Mexicans and Americans. The first chapter deals with Navajo-Pueblo contact and Spanish penetration into the present-day state of New Mexico. This chapter analyzes the economic and cultural evolution of the Navajo. The second chapter is about Navajo-United States relations before the Bosque Redondo period. It covers the years 1846 to 1864. The American period before the Bosque was characterized by a series of military campaigns and treaties, sparked

by the intrusion of U.S. settlers and soldiers into the Navajo's eastern grazing land. Chapter Three examines the Navajo exile at the Bosque and their experience with starvation, illness and the assimilation policy of General Carlton.

II. Cultural and Economic Evolution of the Navajo Indians, 1680-1846.

1. Navajo- Pueblo and Navajo- Spanish Acculturation:

When Spain entered the present-day state of New Mexico they changed the lives of Native Americans by introducing new aspects of material and symbolic culture. The Navajo were affected by cultural innovations like any other tribe in the Southwest. Unlike some other tribes, the Navajo were free from Spanish military authority, and this enabled them to accept only those aspects of Spanish culture that directly benefited their own goals of preserving their independence and enhancing their own political and economic power. Indigenous peoples subjugated by Spain, such as the Pueblo, were forced to adopt Christianity and the Spanish language, while the Navajo could adapt herding but escape these impositions of faith and language by virtue of their military autonomy. The Pueblo played an important role in Navajo history by acting as conduits Spanish culture and by introducing aspects of Pueblo culture that the Navajo later adopted. The process of Navajo cultural change involved not only their interaction with Europeans, but also other native peoples.

According to archaeological surveys, the Navajo, or the Dine (The People) as they call themselves, are part of the Apache and belong to Athapaskan speaking group, Lake Athapaska in Canada. It is estimated that between one thousand and thirteen hundred years ago, Athapaskan speaking groups began to separate. A number of the peoples split off from the Northern and Coastal regions and moved into the Southwest, present Arizona, New Mexico and part of Texas and northern Mexico where they developed a number of separated but

related culture, languages.¹ The Navajo settled down in Rio Grande Valley after the migration. The Navajo had knowledge of farming before reaching the Southwest. They learned it probably from the Plain Indians on their journey to the south. When the Navajo came to the Southwest, the Pueblo Indians had already populated the region. By the time of the Navajo migration, the Pueblo Indians were good farmers who planted large farms of corn, beans and squash.²

The Navajo came to contact with the Pueblo Indians through raids and trade. The Navajo took Pueblo prisoners, mostly women and children who became the wives of her master or helper in the house. Through these prisoners, they learned dry farming and how to plant and harvest crops in the new environment. Farming provided permanent settlement for the Navajo. Production of surplus food made the Navajo affluent and increased their population. But, prosperity of them stepped up Ute raids from the North that compelled the Navajo to change their residence. In order to find better lands for farming and protection from the Ute raids, the Navajo migrated westward into Arizona, while others moved to the South to mount Taylor in New Mexico and Northward into Colorado and Utah.³ Those who remained in the East maintained their relationship with the Pueblos. The Navajo contact with the Pueblo Indians helped the Navajo to survive and adopt themselves into a different environment that brought stability and permanent settlement in the Southwest. When the Spaniards

¹ James F. Downs, *The Navajo*, Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1972. pp.6-11

² Raymond Friday Locke, *The Book of Navajo*, 5th ed., Los Angeles: Mindkind Publishing Company, 1992. p. 67

³ Lawrence Sandberg, *Early History of the Navajos*, Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1994. p.16

penetrated into New Mexico in 1540, the Navajo were in transformation of being hunters and gathers to agriculturists.

The main objective of the Spanish interest in New Mexico was economic. The tale of extremely rich "Seven Cities of Cibola" attracted the Spaniards to explore the region. But, the Spanish Crown did not only conquer Native American lands, but also compelled the Natives to religious conversion, and integration of the Native Americans into the Spanish Empire. The Crown adopted Hispanization of Indians as a state policy. This policy aimed to unify Native Americans under the Spanish Nationality which had three basic patterns; unified governmental and judiciary system; unified language, Spanish; and unified religion, Catholicism.⁴ The Crown authorized the missions and the state administrators to America to assimilate the Native Americans to the Spanish Empire. The Church and the state set their own programs for the assimilation that they thought best for the interest of the Spanish Empire.

The civil authorities cooperated the Indians through political organization of the Native American villages, the production of tribute, distribution of tribal land to the Natives and using American labor in Spanish controlled enterprises, either on *encomiendas*⁵ or mines.⁶

⁴ Arthur, L. Campa, *Hispanic Culture in the Southwest*, Norman: University of New Mexico Press, 1979. p. 26.

⁵ The *encomienda* was a granted land which was given to a soldier who fought in frontier war with conquistadors as a reward. The *encomendos*, holders of the granted lands were obliged to provide military service for the Crown and to assume responsibility for the Natives who were residents of the granted land. His responsibility included protection of the Natives against enemy attacks, gained them working habits and collecting tribute for the Crown. In New Mexico, *encomendos* hold "*repartimiento*" or the right to employ the Native Americans on *encomiendas*. In order to prevent exploitation of Native labour and hostility towards the Spaniards, the Spanish Crown declared "The Orders for New Discoveries" in 1573. According to these orders, the Crown arranged working hours, wages and type of the work that the Natives could be compelled to do in *repartimiento*. In practice, the authorities ignored arrangement of the Crown. However, *encomendos* relied upon the Native labour to get profit from granted lands. Thus, they ignored the

The missionary program attempted to create a mission community around the Church building with cooperating Native Americans. The first aim of priests was the conversion of Natives either by persuading or enforcing. But, they believed that the Natives could become true Christians when they gave up living in savagery and adopted Spanish cultural manners such as speaking Spanish, dressing like the Spaniards, having reading and writing skills. Thus, the Churches became center of Spanish acculturation as well as center of spiritual manners. In addition, the missions were economic units as well. The priests produced surpluses that they marketed to raise money to supplement the subventions they received from the crown.⁷ In order to produce more surpluses, priests taught neophytes to cultivate European crops such as wheat and watermelon, to raise European fruit trees like plums and peaches and to use such iron tools as wheels, saws, chisels, planes, nails and spike. Introduction of new crops enriched the diet of the natives in the Southwest.⁸ Another contribution of the Spanish priests was the introduction of animal husbandry of domestic European animals such as sheep, goats, pigs, horses. Neophytes were responsible to take care of these animals for the missions, but they were not allowed to own them.⁹

Crown's arrangements and continued to exploit the Native American labour. Intense demand of Native labor was one of the reasons of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Encomienda system in was abolished after the revolt. For more information, look Weber's book, *Spanish Frontier in Northern America* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1992), Chapter 4.

⁶ Howard R. Lamar and Sam Truett, "The Greater Southwest and California from Beginning of European Settlement to the 1880" *The Cambridge History of the Native People of the Americas Vol 1: North America*, Part 2, eds. Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁷ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in Northern America*, New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1992. p. 19-20.

⁸ David J. Weber, "The Spanish-Mexican Rim" *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed Clyde A Milner II et al., New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 131.

The Spaniards applied civil and missionary program to those tribes which the Spaniards subdued like the Pueblo. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado established military control over the Pueblo during his expedition into New Mexico in 1540. Hispanization of the Pueblo became intense after the Spaniards founded the first colony in New Mexico in 1598. They were forced to adopt Christianity, and brutally punished by priests when they practiced their own beliefs. Land holders wanted the Pueblo to work for their enterprises and the state officials collected tribute money more than the Crown demanded. The Pueblo revolted against the Spanish oppression in 1680. The revolt of 1680 was one of the most successful revolts against the Spaniards in the New World. It drove the Spanish colonists out of New Mexico over a decade. The Spaniards restabilised their authority in New Mexico in 1696 after repressed the last Pueblo revolt against the Spanish authority. The Revolt of 1680 coaxed the Spanish authorities to rearrange Spanish-Indian policy. Encomienda system¹⁰ was not established in New Mexico again. Priests stop persecuting the Native Americans to practice their religious ceremonies. The Revolt of 1680 was a reaction against the religious persecution and labour demand. After the revolt, they continued to raise Spanish livestock, plant European crops and agricultural implements.

Unlike the Pueblos, the Spaniards did not integrate the Navajo into the Spanish Empire. The Navajo country was far from the political, military and religious control of the Spaniards. Canyons and high mesas of the Navajo country provided them protection from the Spanish threat. While the Navajos were keeping their isolation, they proceeded encounter with the Spaniards

⁹ Frank McNitt, *The Navajo Wars*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972. p. 11.

through Pueblo refugees, raids and trade. Freedom from the Spanish control, made the Navajos able to choose which Spanish traits to accept or reject.¹¹ The Navajos accepted Spanish cultural traits that could easily integrated into their culture. For instance, the Navajos rejected Christianity and the Spanish political system, but they easily accepted the horse, sheep herding, weaving and using metal tools such as knives and axes that made their daily life more comfortable. Among those traits, adaptation of sheep herding was the most important acquisition from the Spaniards that reshaped the Navajo economy and social structure.

The Navajo and the Spanish contact was rare until Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The First contact between the Spaniards and the Navajo was during expedition of Espajo in 1581. In his reports Espajo mentioned mountain Indians who were not only peaceful, but brought goods to trade with foreigners at the site of Laguna Pueblo, near Mount Taylor. The Spaniards named to all non-Pueblos of New Mexico as "mountain Indians" or "apaches". The Spaniards recognized the Navajos as a different tribe in 1626. The missionaries among the Tewa Pueblos heard of "Navaju" of Apaches. In 1630, father Alonso de Benevides described three different Apache groups; the Xila Apachers who were hunters, the Vacquera Apaches who herded buffalo and the Navajo Apaches who were farmers. 'Navajo' was an Indian term, probably used by Tewa Indians, meant, "cultivated fields" Father Benevides established a mission at Santa Clara, the Tewa village on the westside of the Rio Grande to convert "Navaju Apaches".

¹⁰ Look footnote 5.

But, Benevides did not convert any Navajos and soon the mission was abandoned. The first Franciscan attempt to convert the Navajos at Tewa in 1630 failed and no new missionary program was applied to the Navajos throughout 1600s.¹²

The Revolt of 1680 and 1698 provided intense Navajo acquiring for Spanish traits. The Pueblo who fled from Spanish oppression and took refuge among the Navajos had an important role to introduce both the Spanish and Pueblo traits. The Pueblo began to live among the Navajo soon after colonization of New Mexico in 1598. After the revolts of 1680 and 1696, large number of Pueblos joined the Navajos, lived together and married with the Navajo Indians. The Pueblos conveyed what they learned from Spaniards to the Navajos. They brought agricultural implements, metal tools such as knives, axes, needles, corps and taught art of pottery and weaving.

But none of these traits had as great impact on the Navajo Indians as obtaining livestock and horses .The Pueblos were taught to herd and raise livestock for the missionaries and encomendos, but they were not allowed to obtain neither livestock nor horses. When the Pueblos fled from the Spaniards, they acquired some the Spanish sheep. It can be guessed that, the Navajos obtained their first livestock from these Pueblos and learned to raise them. Sheep presented alternative food source. The Navajo were not depending on agriculture, hunting or gathering to feed themselves. Introduction of sheep changed the Navajo way of life totally. They provided cloth, food and wool to weave rugs and

¹¹ James Hester, "Navajo Cultural Change: 1550 to 1960 and Beyond", *Apachean Cultural History and Ethnology: Anthropological Papers, The University of Arizona, No: 21*, Tucson: The University of Arizona. p. 53.

blankets. From the Pueblo Indians, the Navajo women learned to shear the sheep for wool and to spin the wool yarn and dye the yarn by using different plants. Thus, sheep became property of women. They built looms to weave the coloured yarn into clothing as the Pueblo did. The Navajo women reached eminence weaving blankets and wool clothes.¹³ Sheep also served for a social purpose apart from providing cloth and food. According to Navajo tradition, it was a great deal to feed visiting clan members to prove generosity of the host. Having enough extra meat to serve guests was an evidence of hospitality and also his or her ability how to livestock.¹⁴

Horse was the another important domestic animal that was introduced by the Spaniards. The Navajo understood the value of horses. Horse became property of men. Horses enormously increased the mobility of the Navajo for tribal expansion in warfare and in trade. Also, the horse made it possible to visit other clan members and gather to the ceremonial meetings.¹⁵ The Spaniards did not allow the Native Americans to gain horses in order to prevent any action against the Spaniards, but they could not stop the Navajo to attain horses when they raided on Spanish settlements. Soon the Navajo became excellent riders and raiders that threatened the Spanish settlements along the Rio Grande.

Livestock and horses altered the Navajo social structure as well. Being owner of livestock and horses became measure of wealth among the Navajo. Those who obtained more livestock and horses were called ricos or richmen. In

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Sandberg, *Early History of the Navajo*, p.31

¹⁴ Peter Iverson, *The Navajos*, ed. Frank Porter III, New York: Chealsea House Publishers, 1990.p. 35.

each Navajo bands, ricos were respected and influence over other Navajos. Poorer ones or owner of less number of livestock were called landores. To obtain more livestock and to be ricos, raiding became Navajo way of life. Navajos realized that acquiring livestock from the Pueblos and Spanish settlements were easier than raising them. During the raids, the Navajos did not kill Mexicans or Pueblos except for taking revenge. The Navajos considered Mexicans and Pueblos as herders who raised livestock for them.

Raiding gave rise to "headchiefs". Their ability in war, and possession of wealth made them leaders of their bands. The Navajo tribe composed of small bands scattered all over Navajoland with headchiefs. But, headchiefs had no authority in peace time to stop raidings of young warriors who were seeking quick fame and improve their strength by stealing livestock.¹⁶ Thus, although the Navajos shared same cultural aspects, they did not have a political unity under the leadership of a headchief. In the nineteenth century, the United States during treaty negotiations did not understand political disunity of the Navajos. After a treaty was signed, a Navajo chief was appointed as a headman and the United States was supposed him to prevent depredations of landores. However, since appointed headchief had no authority to control all Navajo bands, the treaty remained on the paper soon.

Apart from sheep and horses, the Spaniards brought slave trade to New Mexico. Although, the Crown outlawed enslavement of indigenous people, the Spanish state officials ignored the Crown's law in order to supply demand of the

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Marx L. Junior Heyman, "On The Navajo Trail: The Campaign of 1860-61" *New Mexico Historical Review*. Vol.XXVI. No.1(n.d): pp.61.

Native labour to the Spanish enterprises. The Spaniards got slaves either through rescate system or slave raids on Native American tribes. According to rescate system, the Spaniards paid ransom in order to free Indians that one tribe or band had captured from one and another.¹⁷ Taking women and children as captives was a long time-practised tradition among some of the Apache, Navajo, Ute, Commanche. For instance, the Navajo kept women slaves as servants if they could afford to feed them. Often a slave became an extra wife to her master. Their children added to another strain to the mixed blood of the Navajo tribe. A captive child was treated as a member of family. Some of the captive boys achieved to be the richest and the powerful men among the Navajo.¹⁸ The Spanish law and Christian charity required rescuing these captives by paying ransom. After being baptized, they were given to the Mexican families among whom slaves were Hispanized. They were taught manners of Spanish culture and Christianity. These slaves became servants for the household. They could be set free after a period of time and their condition of servitude could not pass on their children.¹⁹ Rescate system was considered as assimilation of the Native Americans like missionaries attempted to do. Thus, rescate system was acceptable for both church and civil authorities. Another way to supply Native American labour was enslavement of the Indians during Spanish campaigns against a Native American tribe. In New Mexico, captured Ute, Navajo and Apache Indians were sold to mining companies in New Spain. In the seventeenth

¹⁷ Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, p. 127

¹⁸ Ruth Underhill, *The Navajos*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956. p.80

¹⁹ Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, pp.127-129.

century, New Mexico was the biggest Native American slave exporter to New Spain.²⁰

The slavery had double effect on the Navajo. On the one hand, the Navajo exchanged women and children captives with Spanish livestock. On the other hand, the Navajos suffered the Spanish slave trade as well. When they were raided by Utes, or other Indian tribes or the Spaniards, the Navajo women and children were taken as captives and sold to the Spaniards. These slaves carried the Spanish culture to their tribe if they were able to return either through treaty terms or running away and contributed Navajo-Spanish acculturation.²¹

The Navajos emerged as a new people after their acculturation with the Pueblo and the Spaniards in the middle of the eighteenth century. Their population increased and they scattered through out borders of Four Sacred Mountains.²² The Navajos lived as small communities, from ten to forty families. Each community had a defined area of agricultural and grazing land. The

²⁰ Lamar and Truett, "The Greater Southwest and California", p.70.

²¹ Underhill, *The Navajos*, pp.79-80.

²² The Navajo's Four Sacred Mountains are San Francisco Peak, Blanca Peak, Mount Taylor and La Plata Mountain. According to the Navajo Creation myth, the Dine (The People) reach the fourth world after their journey through the first, the second and the third worlds. In the fourth world, the people are prospered and live in harmony with animals. But one-day Coyote kidnaps the small daughter of Tíeholtsodi (Gatherer of Waters) and for the revenge, Tíeholtsodi brings a great flood to the fourth world. But through a large reed that springs up miraculously, The people are able to escape the rising waters and emerge into this present world. With sacred earth brings up from the Underworld, The Holy People create four sacred Mountains; to the east they prepare a mountain of White Shell (Sierra Blanca Peak), to the south a mountain of Turquoise (Mount Taylor), to the west a mountain of Abolone (San Francisco Peaks) and to the north is placed a mountain Dibentsaa (La Plata Mountain). All the lands contain there in given to Earth people, the offspring of First Man and Woman. The Navajo believe that Four Sacred Mountains mark the traditional homeland of the Navajo country or Dinétah. Throughout their history, the Navajo fought to keep this traditional homeland out of foreign invasion. After returning home from the Bosque Redondo Reservation in 1868, the Navajo were given one third of their country. But, the Navajos succeeded to enlarge

Navajos became herders and farmers. They raised livestock as well as obtained them from raids. Livestock provided them food and clothing. The Navajo women became excellent weavers and traded their blankets to the Spaniards and the Pueblo Indians in the peacetime. They sow corn and other vegetables and cultivated large peach orchards in the Canon de Chelly area.²³ The Spanish and the Pueblo acculturation firmly established the Navajos into the Southwest and contributed their economic prosperity .

2. Navajo- Spanish and Navajo Mexican Political Relations

In the seventeenth century, the Navajo and the Spanish relationship based on Navajo acculturation of the Spanish traits that contributed the evolution of the Navajo culture. In the eighteenth century, military campaigns against the Navajos and treaties determined the Navajo- Spanish relationship as a result of intense Navajo livestock raids on the Spanish and Pueblo settlers.

The Spaniards did not paid too much attention to the growing Navajo until the Navajo harassment to the Spanish settlers beginning of 1700s. Like Spanish settlers, the Pueblos became targets of the Navajo attacks and they accepted Spanish protection. In reponse to the Navajo raids, the Spaniards organized military campaigns and captured Navajos in order to sell them as slaves. First large-scale campaigns against the Navajos were in August 1705 after the Navajo raided San Juan, and San Ildefonso pueblos. The Spanish army under the command of Roque de Madrid forced the Navajos to request peace. The Navajos agreed to return the livestock they had run

boundaries of the reservation throughout Four Sacred Mountains by gaining additional lands from the U.S. Government between 1868 to 1934 (look conclusion).

²³ Locke, *The Book of Navajo*, p. 185.

off and the Spanish captives. They wished the Spaniards to turn over the captured Navajos.²⁴ It is not clear how many Navajos were taken as captives and whether they returned to their people. Because, first recorded baptism of Navajo captives was after Madrid's expedition.²⁵ The peace agreement lasted until 1709 when the Spaniards organized a new military expedition.

After the campaign of 1709, the Navajos avoided to be in war with the Spaniards. Increasing Ute raids from the north and the Commanche attacks from the south led the Navajos to seek alliance with the Spaniards, rather than warfare. Occasional Navajo raids on the Pueblos resulted in punitive expeditions by the Spaniards but the Navajos were in favour of peace. Peace between the Navajos and the Spaniards lasted more than fifty years.²⁶

Peaceful relations between the Navajos and the Spaniards began to decline because of the controversy over Cebolleta region, which had good grazing lands for Navajo livestock. Moreover, Caboletta had religious importance for the Navajos. It was on the base of Mount Taylor, one of the four sacred mountains in the Navajo country.²⁷ From 1772 to 1805, the Navajos fought to keep the Spaniards out of Cebolleta.

The Navajo settlement at Cebolleta started with Franciscan missionary program of 1746. The first missionary work to convert the Navajo was in 1630 when a mission was built at Tewa. However, the mission was abandoned because the Navajo were not interested in Christianity. Second missionary attempt began at

²⁴ McNitt, *The Navajo Wars*, pp. 19-22.

²⁵ Locke, p.183.

²⁶ McNitt, pp.23-4.

Cebolleta near Mount Taylor, in 1745. The Navajos came to the mission and listened to the priests unless the priests provided food to the Navajos. When the supplies ran off, the Navajos ceased to come. The mission was deserted in 1750. But, the Navajos continued to live in Cebolleta area and claimed the region as a part of the Navajo country. But the Spanish ranchers and settlers challenged Navajo claim of Cebolleta when their number started to increase in the region. The Navajos formed an alliance with Gila Apaches in 1772 to withdraw the Spaniards out of Cebolleta. Navajo-Apache alliance continued over a decade that started the Navajo depredations on the Spanish frontier. The Navajo attacks decrease after they drove the Spaniards out of Cebolleta, but the Apaches carried on scourging the Spanish frontier. Together with the Apaches, Comanche raids became unstoppable by the Spanish officials,²⁸

Weakness of the Spaniards to prevent raids of Comanches, Apaches, Utes and Navajos compelled the Crown to rearrange its Native American policy. Architect of the new policy was Viceroy of New Spain, Bernardo de Galvez. In 1786, he urged the crown to apply negotiating treaties and distribution of presents and goods to secure friendship during peace negotiations which would cost the Crown less than a military campaign. In addition, he offered development of the trade relations with the Natives and to make the Natives depend on Spanish goods against growing French influence on the Gulf of Mexico and the upper reaches of Mississippi valley. The French traders broke the Spanish monopoly in these regions by offering an alternative source of European goods. In addition, the French did not demand Indians to change their culture or religion²⁹

²⁷ Look footnote 22.

²⁸ McNitt, pp.28-30.

Spanish officials on the northern provinces sought alliances with raider tribes after the instruction of the new policy. The Spaniards dissolved Navajo-Apache alliance by pursuing peace policy and giving bribes to influential headchiefs. In June 1786, a Navajo war party joined an expedition against the Apaches in June.³⁰ The Navajo remained at peace with the Spaniards until 1800.

When Governor Chacon opened Cebolleta grazing lands to the Spanish ranchers, the Navajos requested the Governor to return Cebolleta to the Navajos. However, their request was rejected. In response, the Navajo escalated their depredations against the Spaniards. They organized heaviest attack on the settlers in August 1804 and forced the settlers to abandon the region. The Spaniards organized a military campaign in January 1805. The Navajos asked peace after ninety warriors and twenty-one women and children were massacred in a cave at the Canyon del Muerto.³¹ The Navajos signed the Treaty of 1805, but they went on their harassment on Spanish settlers to keep them away around the Mount Taylor. The Spaniards were too weak to stop Navajo raids because of Mexican War of Independence.

Mexico gained its independence in 1821 that ended Spanish rule in New Mexico. The Spanish- Indian contact that lasted over two centuries altered the lives of Native American tribes in New Mexico. When Mexicans took over the government from the Spaniards, the Mexicans abandoned Spanish-Indian policy. The Mexican government did not negotiate peace with the Indian tribes. All Native Americans would be treated precisely as any other citizens of the republic. Indians would not have different status and the government avoid the use term

²⁹ Weber, "The Spanish Mexican Rim", p. 57.

³⁰ McNitt, p. 43.

'Indian'. Moreover, Mexican government granted equal participation in political life. In addition, the government turned over mission lands to the Indians after secularization of the missions.³²

However, the Mexican government was too weak to execute new Indian policy because of politic turmoil in the country after its independence. In New Mexico lack of military control strengthened Apache, Commanche and Navajo raids and Mexican reprisals. Mexican settlers organized volunteer groups and raided into Indian lands for taking slaves. Although the Mexican government outlawed slavery like the Spaniards did, the practice of slavery continued. The United States realized twenty years after taking over New Mexico that slave raids were main reason of the Indian aggression. In his proclamation, President Andrew Johnson abolished any kind of slave trade either by Indian tribes or New Mexicans on June 9, 1866.

During the Mexican period from 1821 to 1846, the Navajo raids carried on a large scale. The Navajos raided livestock and in reprise, the Mexicans enslaved Navajo women and children. On the eve of American invasion of New Mexico, the Navajo population was estimated seven or eight thousands. They were owner of 500.000 sheep and thousands of horses. They were farmers as well as good herders. Because of their prosperity and raids, the Mexicans called the Navajos 'Lords of the Earth'

Mexican rule of New Mexico ended after the War of 1846 and the United States took control of the region. After signing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848, Mexico ceded Utah, California and New Mexico to the United States. The treaty enlarged the boundaries of the United States half a

³¹ Ibid.

million acres. Thus, the United States extended its jurisdiction over the Mexican settlers and the Native Americans.

Cultural adoption reshaped Navajo society. In economics, herding transformed Navajo and enriched them. The simplest means of enlarging a herd was raiding. Raids had a negative consequence in that they formed the basis of larger disputes between the Navajo and their European and Pueblo neighbours. Much of the military history of the Navajo in the Southwest can be understood as a long-running war to control livestock and avenge raids on individual herds and families. The 1864 campaign that confined the Navajo to the Bosque Redondo had its origins in a familiar dispute over raids and reprisals between the Navajo and nearby settlers. The pattern of Navajo-European relations established during the Spanish colonial period carried on into the nineteenth century. As the United States would later attempt, Spain tried to assimilate subjugated native peoples to European culture in the hope that changing their language, religion, and customs would eliminate Native American demands for political independence and control of land. The success of assimilation under the Spaniards was uneven. Native Americans outwardly appeared to adopt European habits at those times when they were completely subjugated by the force of Spanish arms. Yet even the Pueblo, who were under the direct military control of Spain, rose up in rebellion in the late 1600s and demonstrated that they had not internalized the norms of Spanish culture nor had they given up their aspiration for independence. The Navajo watched and learned from these experiences. In the late 1860s they found themselves at the mercy of the United States army and were forced to go through a process of assimilation similar to the experience of the Pueblos over a century

³² Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962. P.334.

before. Like their predecessors, the Navajo refused to abandon their own traditions and ultimately they thwarted the plans of their conquerors to erase their culture. 🐾

II. The United States in New Mexico, 1846-1861:

Early in their 1846-48 war with the United States, Mexico lost political control of the Southwest. The change brought the Navajo into contact with the United States. As in their earlier experiences with Spain and Mexico, misunderstanding and conflict characterized Navajo relations with the U.S. Between 1846 and 1861, Navajos and Americans fought a series of wars that ended in treaties which both sides, but especially the U.S., failed to honor. Neither the Navajo nor the United States was able to clearly understand the motives and goals of their opponent. The Navajo believed that the Americans could be handled like the Spaniards and the Mexicans. That is, they realized that the U.S. had designs on the Dinétah, but they believed that they had the military power to prevent a full-blown occupation of their homeland. Working under this assumption, various headchiefs continued to raid non-Navajo settlements and engage in futile wars against the stronger U.S. army. For their part, the Americans shared the misperception of the governments of Spain and Mexico that the Navajo and other Native Americans lived in a state of barbarism and could only be dealt with by total conquest and a transformation of their culture to that of the victors. In 1861, General Edward Canby launched a new type of campaign against the Navajo. Canby waged war not only against Navajo warriors, but also against their civilians and their economic resources. His troops burned fields and destroyed livestock. As a result of this total war policy, one that Union commanders used later in the Civil War against the Confederacy, the Navajo were forced to concede more than ever before to a military opponent. The full fruits of mutual mistrust and hostility were born in the 1864 campaign led by General Kit

Carson and the ensuing four-year confinement of the Navajo to the Bosque Redondo Reservation. There, neither side got what it wanted and the main players in the struggle either lost their power or were disgraced in the eyes of their own people.

1. Navajo Indians and the Treaty of Ojo del Oso (1846):

The border dispute between Republic of Mexico and the United States turned into war in 1846 when the Mexican army crossed the Rio Grande to patrol the Nuecos boundary. President Polk considered the action as invasion of the United States and on May 14, 1846 he declared war on Republic of Mexico. The treaty of Guadalup Hidalgo, on February 2, 1848, ended the war between the two countries and Mexico ceded Utah, California and New Mexico (including Arizona) that enlarged the boundaries of the United States half a million acres. Also, The United States took charge of the Indians that lived in these ceded areas, including the Navajos.

The United States gained the control of New Mexico when General Kearny took Santa Fe, capital city of New Mexico, in August 1846. On August 18, General Kearny declared that New Mexico was under the jurisdiction of the United States and the New Mexicans were citizens of the United States. In addition, General Kearny promised protection against the depredations of the Navajos and Apaches

By the time Kearny's army invaded New Mexico, the warfare between the Navajos and the Mexicans existed. These wars generally caused by raids, carried out by both sides. The New Mexicans raided into Navajoland, for slaves who were both sold in New Mexico and Mexico. The Navajos in return would raid the Mexican settlements and ranchers taking captives and livestock.³³ Before leaving for

California, General Kearny authorized Colonel Doniphan to sign treaties with the Indian tribes of New Mexico for this purpose.

Colonel Doniphan sent scouts to inform the Navajos of the peace treaty and the Navajos agreed to hold the peace council at Ojo del Oso (Bear Springs). The Navajos called the Americans, Bilangaana (New Men) and the meeting at Ojo del Oso brought Americans and the Navajos for the first time. Colonel Doniphan explained that New Mexico, including Dinetah, was now the territory of the United States and the Mexicans who lived in that territory were the citizens of the United States. The United States was responsible to protect her citizens against any wrong doings of the Navajos. Also, the Navajos who were under the jurisdiction of the United States would have the same protection against the New Mexicans if they attempt to do the same thing. Colonel Doniphan's explanation confused the Navajos who did not understand why the Mexicans would be protected by the United States while they were the enemies of Bilangaana as chief Zarcillos Largos (Long Earrings) answered Colonel Doniphan:

Americans! You have strange cause of war against the Navajos. We have waged war against the New Mexicans for several years. We have plundered their villages and killed many of them and made many prisoners. We just cause for all this. You have commenced a war against the same people. You are powerful. You have great guns and many brave soldiers. You have therefore conquered them, the very thing we have been attempting to do for so many years. You now turn upon us for attempting to do what you have done yourselves. We cannot see why you have cause quarrel with us for fighting the New Mexicans on the West, while you do the same thing on the East. Look how the matter stands. This is our war, we have more right to complain of you for interfering in our war than you have to quarrel with us continuing a war we had began long before got there. If you will act justly, you will allow us settle our own differences.³⁴

³³ Bill R. Acrey, *Navajo History: The Land and People*, Shiprock, NM:Rio Grande Press, 1979. p.3.

³⁴ McNitt, p.118.

Through interpretation Colonel Doniphan explained that, the Mexicans were no longer enemies of the United States, the war between the Americans and the Mexicans were over and repeated that if New Mexicans or Navajos caused depredations, they would be punished according to laws of the United States. Important headchiefs, like Narbona and Zargillos Largos accepted the peace treaty in hope that Americans could stop slave trade and bring backen slaved Navajos held by the New Mexican.

The treaty was signed on November 22, 1846 and according to treaty of Ojo Del Oso “all the property taken by either Navajos or New Mexicans since the 18th day of August last, shall be restored” also, “there shall be a mutual restoration of all prisoners”. The treaty also, allowed free trade in Dinetah and New Mexico, between Navajos and New Mexicans.³⁵ The first treaty between the Navajos and the United States did not bring any restriction on slave trade of the New Mexicans.

Also, this treaty was the beginning of “misunderstandings” of the Navajos by the Americans that continued until 1868. The Navajos had no political unity to comply the treaty terms because of the political structure of the Navajo. Each Navajo band had a headchief who was only responsible to control his band and had no authority over other Navajos. No leader had a power to speak for all Navajos.³⁶ Those chiefs who signed the treaties with the United States bounded only their bands to keep treaty terms. On the other hand, the United States treated the Navajos as a single political body and considered the headspokesman as the leader of all

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Iverson, p.40.

Navajos.³⁷

After signing the treaty with the Americans, the Navajos became curious about the power of the United States that divided the Dine over the issue. When the Americans took New Mexico, Narbona had secretly observed “the New Men” at Fort Marcy, north of Santa Fe, and he had been impressed by the weapons and soldiers of the United States that urged his friends to sign treaty with the United States. Like Narbona, Zarcillo Largos was also influenced by the power of Bilagaana who defeated Mexicans, enemy of the Navajos for centuries. Those who were against to sign any treaty with the Americans were young warriors like Manuelito, son -in-law of Narbona. According to Manuelito, the Navajos had signed treaties with Spanish and Mexicans that neither brought peace nor returned their captive women and children to them and signing a new treaty with the Americans would bring the same results. Also, the Americans claimed right over the Navajo country.³⁸ The insurrection at Taos, Northern New Mexico in 1847 changed the Navajos’ opinion about the power of the United States which promised protection and punishment for the Mexicans.

The insurrection was plotted by dissident New Mexicans who by day were innocent citizens, but by night rode as guerilla raiders with the fugitive outlaw Manuel Cortes and with his Indian allies. On January 19, 1847, dissident New Mexicans killed Governor Bent and other five Americans at Taos. Until Colonel Price’s Missouri volunteers came and bombed Taos, Northern New Mexico remained under the control of the New Mexicans. Some of the instigators were caught and

³⁷ Spicer, p. 231.

³⁸ Locke, p. 210.

hanged, however, Manuel Cortes remained on to fight independently as guerillas or occasionally to join raids with Indian allies (Cheyenne and Apaches). The Navajos did interfere the revolt, in fact they were not interested in who killed whom, but they observed enough “weakness” of the United States against the Mexicans.³⁹

Colonel Price's Missouri Volunteers suppressed the insurrection at Taos. Some of the instigators of the Taos Revolt were caught and hanged. However, leader of the insurrection Manuel Cortes continued to fight against the American Army and he joined raids with his Cheyenne and Apache allies. The Navajos did not interfere the revolt, but they observed the military weakness of the United States to end the revolt. The Navajos considered the Bilaagana- the Americans- not strong enough to protect them from the New Mexican slave raids as it was promised in the Treaty of Ojo del Oso. Articles of the treaty of Ojo Del Oso remained on the paper soon after the Navajos signed it. The treaty ignored the New Mexican slave trade in Dinetah and the slave trade remained unchecked.⁴⁰ Navajo raids stepped up along the Rio Grande throughout 1847. In return, the New Mexicans organized slave raids into the Dinetah. Also, they requested military action against the Navajos for ‘protection’ as the United States promised. Under the command of Major W.H.T. Walker, the Santa Fe battalion started an expedition into the Navajo country in order to punish robberies of the Mexicans on September 10. Major Walker’s battalion was made up Indian allies and New Mexican volunteers and small artillery and provisions of two months. Major Walker penetrated into the Dinetah with help of his Indian scouts and marched toward the Canon de Chelly. But, the battalion found the country deserted.

³⁹Locke,p. 216.

⁴⁰ McNitt, pp. 173-177.

The Navajos had abandoned their settlements together with their livestock before the battalion reached into the Dinétah.⁴¹ The Navajos were good raiders but not fighters. They did not develop a military culture like their neighbours Utes for whom war was the apex of living.⁴² During their raids, the Navajos did not destroy the Mexicans because the Navajos considered them stock raisers for them to drive off.⁴³ When they faced with military expedition, they retreated themselves into deep canyons and high mesas of the Dinétah for protection rather than fighting with the enemy. The Navajos used the same tactic when Santa Fe battalion came into the Navajoland.

The first military expedition of the United States against the Navajos was disaster. The Santa Fe battalion wandered into Dinétah without chasing Navajos or any livestock to supply finishing provisions. Close to starvation the soldiers had to eat their pack mules and when the last mule was gone, they subsisted on the meat of dog. The battalion returned to Santa Fe on October 14. The New Mexicans disappointed the result of the expedition. As the newspaper *Republican* wrote, only lasting peace with the Navajos could be achieved when they felt the full force and power of the government through a war of destruction.⁴⁴

In May 1848, Colonel Newby who was appointed as new military commander of New Mexico, led an second expedition into Dinétah. He called a Navajo peace council to discuss a new treaty. Navajo head chiefs, included Narbona,

⁴¹ Locke, p. 216.

⁴² Clyde Kluchohn and Doreatha Leighton, *The Navajo*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960. p. 31.

⁴³ Frank D. Reeve, "The Government and Navajos, 1846-1858" *New Mexican Historical Review*. Vol. XII January (1939): p. 82.

⁴⁴ Frank McNitt, "The Navajo Campaigns and the Occupation of New Mexico" *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. XLIII (1968): p. 181.

Zarcillos Largo, Jose Largo, met Colonel Newby at Monte del Cayanta and on May 20, the Navajos signed another treaty with the United States. Unlike the Doniphan Treaty, the Newby Treaty ordered “entire restoration of all prisoners.....by either of the parties, and the people of New Mexico” and the restoration would be “ full and complete with the regard to the number prisoners held”. In addition, the Navajos would deliver three hundred sheep, one hundred mules and horses. In his report on June 17, Colonel Newby wrote that the Navajos had fully complied with their part of the agreement and surrendered 12 Mexican captives.⁴⁵ But, unlike the Navajos, the New Mexicans did not equally exchange the Navajo prisoners. Colonel Newby tried to restore Navajo prisoners as it was promised in the treaty. However, he was unable to bring back the Navajo slaves to their families.⁴⁶ In addition, the Congress did not ratify the Newby Treaty. Again, the Bilaagala disappointed the Navajo Indians.

2.The Treaty of Washington (1848):

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo concluded the Mexican-American War on February 2 1848, and the United States ceded California, New Mexico, Utah that enlarged her boundaries half a million acres. The treaty brought changes in the military and civilian government within the New Mexican Territory. Colonel J. M. Washington replaced Newby and he was appointed civil and military governor of New Mexico. In addition, the Indian agency at the Council Bluff was transferred to

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 191,

⁴⁶ Locke, p.219.

Santa Fe and James S. Calhoun became the first Indian agent of the Territory. Calhoun was in charge of several tribes, including the Navajo knew little about them. When Calhoun came into the region, he already accepted the current view that the Navajos had to be chastised and subdued.⁴⁷ Washington and Calhoun cooperated in order to solve the Navajo problem. However both officials dismissed the Mexican slave raids which were main cause of the Navajo aggression on the settlers.

Washington led an expedition on August 16, although there was no indication that the Navajos broke the Newby treaty. The Navajo kept the expedition observed and saw destruction of cornfields by the soldiers. The Navajo requested to hold a peace council with the United States. Navajo chiefs, Narbona, Jose Largo and Archuleta met Washington and Calhoun at Canyon de Chelly. At the peace council, Calhoun and Washington explained to the Navajos what Doniphan and Newby had explained before. The Navajos were under the jurisdiction of the United States. They had to respect this jurisdiction and they had to stop their depredations against New Mexicans. Otherwise they would be punished according to the law of the United States, or if someone did wrong doing against the Navajos they would have the same treatment. When it was their turn, Navajo chiefs asked when would the New Mexicans will return Navajo captives and they demanded that the Colonel to stop destruction of corn fields.

Both parties agreed to sign a new treaty, but an unfortunate incident destroyed establishment of peaceful relationship between the Navajos and the United States. During the negotiations of treaty terms, a New Mexican volunteer recognized his stolen horse. Washington demanded the horse from the Navajos and sent his men

to seize it. As the soldiers approached them, the Navajos fled into small groups and Washington ordered his troops to open fire. When the fight ended, six Navajos were killed, included Narbona who was known as man of peace, but described by Colonel Washington as “ scourge of the people of New Mexico for past thirty years”.

Death of Narbona angered the Navajos and headchiefs like Zarcillo Largo and Manuelito. They rejected to join any meeting with the Americans. On the other hand, Colonel Washington continued his expedition in Dinetah .On September 9,Colonel signed the treaty with three chiefs who had less importance among the Navajos.According to the Treaty of Washington, All-American and Mexican captives and all stolen property would be restored. Trade in Navajo country would be arranged according to intercourse laws of the United States. Those Americans and Mexicans, if maltreat the Navajos, they shall be arrested and punished and it would be for the Navajos, if they cause depredations. The most important article of the treaty was article VII which allowed the United States to establish military post and agencies in Dinetah. ⁴⁸

Washington disregarded Navajo tradition of headchiefs and by signing a treaty with two less influential chiefs and he took all the Navajos responsible with the treaty terms. Ironically, the treaty was ratified by the United States Congress on September 9, 1850. Instead of bringing lasting peace into New Mexico, Colonel Washington’s expedition worsened the Navajo-U.S relations. Although there was no indication that the Navajos broke the Newby Treaty, the Navajos witnessed destruction of their hogans, crops and live- stocks by the U.S. army. In addition,

⁴⁷ Reeve, " The Government and the Navajos, 1846-1858" *New Mexican Historical Review* (1839) p.88

⁴⁸ Acrcy., p. 305

Washington caused death of respected chief Narbona. Colonel Washington's lack of knowledge about the Navajo political organization and values made the treaty of Washington worthless from the start. Outraged Navajos carried out their raids before the army reached Santa Fe and restored their destroyed livestock. New Mexicans requested establishment of military posts for protection against the incursions and robberies of the Navajos. In the fall of 1849, a detachment of troops was stationed at San Isidro in the Jemez Valley and a second post was located at Cebollata.⁴⁹

As military measures were being taken to stop Navajo raids, Calhoun tried to solve the Navajo problem by disregarding military and applying his civil policy. In his reports to Washington, Calhoun advised the commissioner of the Indian affairs that only way to prevent raids of Indians in New Mexico was creation of restricted areas, away from the white settlers. But his advice was ignored by officials in Washington.⁵⁰ Also, Calhoun realized that the Mexican slave trade was one of the reasons of the Navajo raids. He believed that ending the slave trade in Dinétah would stop many Navajo raids in New Mexico. For this purpose, Colonel Munroe, who replaced Washington, declared a statement that the government in November 1849 would license all traders to the Navajos. Washington and Calhoun not only hoped to stop illegal slave trade, but also ban gun traders who furnished the Indians with the ammunition, and liquor dealers from the region. Unfortunately, since slave and gun trading were profitable business in the region, licensing of the traders did not change

⁴⁹ Reeve, p. 90.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

anything. Traders became more careful on their operations and the slave trade remained unchecked until 1850.⁵¹

In 1850, Congress ratified the Treaty of Washington and appropriated \$18,000 to Navajos as it was told in the treaty. At the same time, the office of military and civil governor of New Mexico was divided into two different offices. The Civil governor's office was transferred to Department of Interior while the military office remained in the hands of the War Department. Also, the Congress divided New Mexico territory into four Indian agencies in order to assist the Superintendent of the Indian Affairs in New Mexico.⁵² Calhoun was appointed as the first civil governor of the territory. But, for the protection of settlers from Indian depredations, both offices had to cooperate with each other. However, this created problem of authority over the Indian-U.S. relations. Calhoun felt that as a civil governor of New Mexico, he was responsible to arrange relations between the Indians and the New Mexicans. But, Calhoun needed the help of the army to protect settlers from Indian raids. On the other hand, army officials, like Colonel Sumner, considered that the army was not only responsible for the protection of white settlers, but also protection of the Native Americans from the white aggression.

After being governor of New Mexico, Calhoun thought that to raise a volunteer civilian force could stop Navajo raids. For this purpose, on March 18, 1851, Calhoun declared a proclamation to encourage raising a volunteer army. According to Calhoun's plan, volunteers would make an expedition to subdue the Navajos. In short time, the New Mexicans composed 'Six Companies of Volunteers'

⁵¹ Acrey, p.18.

⁵² Reeve, p. 96.

under the leadership of Mexican Navajo fighter Manuel Chevez. He offered Calhoun to pursue the Navajo to their extermination or complete surrender. Calhoun asked Munroe to furnish the volunteers with guns and ammunition for a new expedition into the Navajo country. Calhoun wanted Munroe to give arms to the Pueblos who suffered under the Navajo depredations for centuries.⁵³

At this situation, Colonel E. V. Sumner was appointed as military commander of New Mexico on March 29, 1851. Sumner had special orders from the War Department. He was instructed to construct several military posts in the Navajoland as well as making an expedition to force the Navajos to keep the terms of the Washington treaty. There would be no new treaty with the Navajos until they had been made to feel the power of arms of the United States. Sumner did not take immediate action to subdue the Navajos. Rather, he dealt with rejecting Calhoun's policies and establishing his authority in Navajo relations.⁵⁴ Sumner considered the Navajo problem as a military matter. He dismissed Calhoun's plan to raise a volunteer army. Sumner believed that New Mexicans were also part of the trouble in the region. Furnishing the volunteers with arms could increase illegal slave trade and thereby could provoke more Navajo raids. Sumner gave only 75 muskets to Calhoun's volunteers when the troops were withdrawn from Fort Marcy to Fort Union and Calhoun worried that the New Mexicans would remain defenceless. But, Sumner allowed the use of arms with strict conditions. He gave arms only for defence. If they were used for the volunteer expedition, the army would punish

⁵³ Recve, p. 93.

⁵⁴ Locke, p. 262

anyone who abuses his orders.⁵⁵ Sumner started the Navajo expedition in mid August 1851. When he reached Canon Bonito, he ordered Major Bacus to construct a small fort there. Sumner hoped to check Navajo raids and New Mexican slave traders by establishing a fort in the Navajo country. However, the Navajos thought building of the fort as invasion of Navajo land. Although, the Navajos attacked supplying wagons carrying implements for the construction of the fort, Major Bacus soon succeeded in building it. The fort was called 'Fort Defiance' because of its bold location in the heart of the Navajoland.⁵⁶

While Sumner was carrying on his expedition, he sought to make peace with the Navajo as well. Before he marched into Canyon de Chelly, the Colonel sent messengers to Navajo headchiefs for a peace council. On December 25, Sumner and governor met about two hundred Navajo at Jemez. During the negotiations, disagreement between Sumner and Calhoun appeared once more. The Navajos agreed to keep quiet, restore all Mexicans captives and gave three hostages to show their good faith. In return, Calhoun delivered \$ 3000 worth of gifts to the headchiefs.⁵⁷ Sumner was disturbed by Calhoun's action. He believed that presents should have been given if the Navajos remained in peace at least for six month.⁵⁸ On January 27, 1852, a delegation of Navajo came to Santa Fe and delivered three captive Mexican boys to prove their willingness for peace with the United States. Except for a few incidents, peace between the Navajos and New

⁵⁵ Ibid,289.

⁵⁶ Acrey, p. 19.

⁵⁷ McNitt, "The Navajo Campaigns", pp. 196-199.

⁵⁸ Rceve,pp.93-96.

Mexicans lasted until the spring of 1853.⁵⁹ In March, the Navajos began their raids near Pena Blanca and took a small number of livestock. On May 3, a New Mexican rancher Ramon Martin and his son were killed near Valletico and two boys were captured and his stock was stolen. Also, in the same month, a large number of sheep flock, belonged to another New Mexican rancher were taken near Ojo de Gallina.⁶⁰ Governor William Carr Lane, who replaced Calhoun in 1852, authorized two agents to investigate the murderer and he suggested that Sumner took military action if the Navajo did not surrender the murderers. Sumner gave ultimatum to the Navajoto comply the terms of the Treaty of Washington. The Navajos were given until July 6 to surrender the murderers, deliver the captive boys and restore stolen stock, otherwise their country would be invaded by U.S. troops. The captive boys and stolen stocks were returned without any difficulty. But, to surrender murderers to the Americans was difficult task for the Navajo. A Navajo could take refuge among other bands that had little knowledge about treaties or Americans as in the case of Martin and his son. Since no headchief had authority over the headchief of another band to surrender criminal, murderer could live among his new band.

Instead of surrendering the murderers, the Navajos offered blood money that was a Navajo tradition. For the Navajos, a killing could be pardoned by paying goods to the family of the dead person.⁶¹ However, both Sumner and Lane rejected Navajo proposal, and insisted on surrender of the murderers. For the

⁵⁹ Locke, p.270.

⁶⁰ Reeve, p. 102.

⁶¹ Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico 1858- 1880", *New Mexican Historical Review*, Vol.XII July (1937): p. 224.

American officials, a murder case was the matter of the United States' authority to execute its laws of the United States over the Indians under its jurisdiction. From this point of view, criminals had to be judge and punished according to process of law.

Although Sumner threatened the Navajo with a new expedition, he understood that the Navajos were unable to surrender the murderers. He was satisfied with restoration of the stolen stock and came to the opinion that war would be costly and unnecessary. Colonel Sumner's passive attitude to take action against the Navajos was criticized by Lane. In fact, Lane who was running Congress, made the Martin case an important issue for his political campaign and called for a civilian militia to invade Navjoland to chastise the Navajo. Sumner warned Lane to use army to prevent any misdoing of New Mexicans against the Navajos.⁶² Lane lost the election and David Meriwether was appointed as new governor of New Mexico. General John Garland replaced Colonel Sumner. When Garland and Governor Meriwether came to New Mexico, Martin's case faded away.

At the same time, Henry L. Dodge was appointed as new agent to the Navajos. His friendly attitude to the Navajos and personal efforts kept the Navajos out of trouble during his service. Unlike previous agents, rather than writing reports to Washington, Dodge visited isolated Navajo settlement in the Navajo country. He was interested in improvement of Navajo farming by providing them modern agricultural implements subsidized by the government. In 1853, Agent

⁶² Locke, p. 278.

Dodge brought the Mexican blacksmith, George Carter in who taught the Navajos to work iron and copper .⁶³

3. Treaty of Laguna Negra (July 18,1855) and the Trouble on Grazing Lands:

The Navajo intended to remain in peace, but the immense grazing area of the east of the Navajo country was a natural attraction for sheep growers of the Rio Grande Valley. The Navajo resisted the Americans to give up eastern grazing lands as they did to the Spaniards. They attacked settlers and killed Mexican herders. But, the New Mexican ranchers continued to drive their livestock into the Navajo country. Moreover, the United States District Court's decision that declared New Mexico an Indian Country, legally opened the Navajo grazing lands to the New Mexicans. Meriwether felt powerless to prevent harassment of the Navajos by the New Mexican ranchers and Navajo raids. After he took the office in 1853, Meriwether sent reports to the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs in Washington. In his reports, he recommended to extinguish Indian land titles with a treaty and establishment of reservations in order to remove the Native Americans in New Mexico from the vices of white settlers.⁶⁴ With these reports, in July 1854, Congress appropriated \$ 30.000 to make treaties with Apache, Navajo and Utes. In the spring of 1855, Meriwether was instructed to make arrangements to provide a reserved land to the Indians as their future and permanent home. The instruction also included introduction of private land ownership to the Native Americans. For this purpose, farming land would be

⁶³ Acrey, p.15.

⁶⁴ Reeve "The Federal Indian Policy of New Mexico" (1939),p.110.

allotted to each single person over twenty one years age or a head of a family from twenty to sixty acres. Private land ownership was foreign not only to the Navajos but also other Indian tribes as well. Among the Navajos water, timber salt and land were considered as common property. The Navajos moved from one place to another to find better grazing and farming land. Also, the geography of the Navajo country, which had great deserts, isolated canyons, river bottoms and mountain slopes made suggestion of allotting lands from twenty to sixty acres Navajo land was suitable for animal husbandry with its broad grazing land rather than farming.⁶⁵

The meeting to negotiate new a treaty was held at Laguna Negra 14 miles to the Fort Defiance on July 16 1855. The Navajos chose Manuelito as their spokesman Meriwether read articles of the treaty; as the spokesman, Manuelito objected to the fourth and ninth articles. The forth article set the boundaries of Navajo reservation. Manuelito told Meriwether that the Navajo country was a bigger than it was proposed in the treaty. He pointed out that only one of the four sacred mountains was in the limits of the Navajo reservation. He emphasized that Chaco Canyon was an ancestral homeland where Navajos lived for centuries, but it was excluded from the borders of Dinetah. Furthermore, the Navajos used to journey to the salina near Zuni, a source of salt that was out of the new borders of Dinetah as well. Meriwether explained that the Chaco Canyon was arranged as a buffer zone between the New Mexicans and the Navajos. Furthermore, the government would pay \$10.000 annually to the Navajos for this area. For the

⁶⁵ Locke p. 286.

salina, Governor Meriwether added special order to the forth article that permitted the Navajos to gather salt from there.⁶⁶

The Second disagreement was on the ninth article. It proposed the surrender of all Navajos who caused depredations. He opposed the ninth article. Because, no headchief could take responsibility to surrender someone who took refuge among his kinsmen. Meriwether rejected Manuelito's request on the grounds that Americans could not distinguish bad Navajos from the good ones. Twenty-seven Navajo headchiefs agreed to sign the treaty of Laguna Negra on July 18, 1855. For the first time the Navajos ceded their traditional homelands and the treaty pushed them onto a reservation. However, the treaty was not ratified by the Senate after an unfavourable committee report which considered the eastern boundary of the reservation that had best grazing lands, was too favourable for the Navajos.⁶⁷ The treaty meant nothing to the New Mexican ranchers who violated the borders of newly established Navajo reservation and carried on grazing their herds over best grazing lands. The Navajos had to deal with overgrazing problem together with slave raids.

Until the spring of 1856, the Navajos did not commit any depredation and respected treaty terms. The harsh winter of 1855-56 forced many Navajos families to consume their livestock to survive. Also, they had to endure raids of Utes, Comanches and Kiowas who suffered as much as the Navajos. Governor Meriwether and the army were unable to protect the Navajos from Indian raids and government aid was given denied them. Agent Dogde was aware of the

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.292-93.

⁶⁷ Reeve "The Federal Indian Policy of New Mexico" (1939): p. 110.

situation and he predicted that Navajos would raid New Mexicans if no aid were given to the Navajos. The treaty was broken in March 1856 when a New Mexican rancher named Antonio Jose Otera reported a Navajo raid and the murder of three herders. Governor Meriwether ordered Agent Dodge to investigate the raid and surrender the murderers. After the investigation, Agent Dodge discovered that the leaders of the raiding party were belonged to the respected and rich families; one was son of Narbona, two others were sons of Archuelito, leader of San Juan Navajos. Agent Dodge brought back stolen sheep, but not the murderers. No Navajo could dare to surrender them. If they were surrendered, the Navajos would make reprisals against the white settlers.⁶⁸ In fact, this raid was warning to the Americans who were unable to protect the Navajos from the Indian lands and keep the New Mexicans out of Navajo grazing land.⁶⁹

While the tension between the Navajos and the Americans was increasing, Manuelito worsened the relations by driving his herds into the grazing lands of the Fort Defiance that were taken away with the Treaty of Laguna Negra. Although Major Kendrick warned Manuelito to keep his stock out of the Fort's area and respect the treaty terms, Manuelito claimed Navajo heredity right over the grazing lands. He also challenged Major Kendrick to organize a war party if he tried to get him out of the grazing lands. Dodge advised Kendrick not to take any action unless sufficient forces came to Fort Defiance. Arrival of new forces compelled Manuelito to retreat his herds from army grazing land for a short time.⁷⁰ As the

⁶⁸.Locke, p.297

⁶⁹ McNitt, *The Navajo Wars* pp.274-275

⁷⁰ Locke,p.299.

split between the Navajos and the Americans widened, the man who could work out the treaty terms for both sides, agent Dodge was killed by the Apaches while he was on a hunting trip near Zuni.⁷¹

"Fearing Time":

The Navajo call the period between the Treaty of Laguna Negra (1856) to end of their exile at Bosque Redondo Redondo "Fearing Time". The period remarks the Navajo resistance to keep eastern grazing lands into the borders of Dinétah and increase of Navajo raids to prevent white settlement in this era.

The grazing land dispute enhanced the power of Manuelito.⁷² American penetration into Navajo land, continuous Mexican slave raids and broken treaties with the United States gathered more Navajos around Manuelito. When leader of the peace party Zarcillo Largos joined Manuelito's side, the Navajos followed an aggressive policy. Manuelito challenged the U.S. authority by organizing two bold attacks on Fort Defiance.

However, the Navajo's struggle to defend their land rights caused series of military campaigns from 1856 to 1864. Each campaign resulted in destruction of Navajo crops and livestock that led the Navajos into poverty. The Navajos became more and more dependent on government rations. Moreover, Navajo aggression in this period gave General Carlton an excuse to exile them to Bosque Redondo in 1864.

The Navajo's resistance for the eastern grazing lands began after signing of the Treaty of Laguna Negra. The treaty brought a nominal peace to the Navajos

⁷¹ Acrey, p.23.

⁷² Ibid.

and the United States. But, there was always a possibility of war breaking because of Manuelito's harassment of Fort Defiance grazing land.⁷³ Manuelito decided to remove his herds out of the army's grazing lands when Zarcillos Largos insisted not to strain the relations between the United States and the Navajo, but, Manuelito kept his livestock on Fort Defiance's grazing lands. As a result, Major Brooks, commander of the fort, ordered his soldiers to kill all the livestock on or near the army's grazing land. Angered by the action of the U.S. soldiers, Manuelito called for war during a meeting among the Navajo chiefs. Zarcillos Largos affected other Navajo chiefs to remain in peace with the Americans.⁷⁴ Although Zarcillos Largos struggled to keep peace, murder of Major Brooks' slave on 12 July 1858 by a Navajo dragged the Navajo into the conflict with the United States. At the end of the campaign, the Navajos had to sign Bonville treaty which forced them to give up more lands on the east.

Outraged by death of his slave, Brooks demanded the surrender of the murderer according to the Laguna Negra treaty. In response, Zarcillo Largos reminded Major Brooks that his soldiers destroyed Manuelito's herds six weeks ago and the Americans did not pay the damage or restore his property. Like, Brooks, Zarcillos Largos emphasized that the Americans had to comply with treaty terms before demanding anything from the Navajos. However, Brooks considered Zarcillos Largos action as an 'insult' to the United States. He gave twenty-one day ultimatum to the Navajos to deliver the murderer otherwise the Navajos would be chastised for their irresponsible action. Major Brooks wrote to

⁷³ Heyman, "On the Navajo Trail: The Campaign of 1860-61" p.61.

⁷⁴ McNitt, The Navajo Wars p220.

Adj. General of New Mexico and he called for additional troops and asked for a possible campaign against the Navajos who refused to keep peace treaty.⁷⁵

On the last day of the ultimatum (July 21), the Navajos delivered the dead body of a Mexican slave and tried to pass him off as the murderer of the black slave. However, after a medical examination, it was understood that corpse of the claimed murderer was a very young man whereas the murderer was described as forty years old. In fact, the Navajos tried to solve problem through Navajo tradition. The Navajo had paid the property damage of Brooks by killing another slave that belonged to a Navajo.⁷⁶ But, from the American point of view, the Navajo action was a trick and violation of laws. A murderer had to be punished because of his wrongdoing. Brooks called for a new expedition.

On August 29, Adj. General authorized Colonel D.S. Miles to command the new Navajo campaign. Miles entered Canyon de Chelly killed six Navajos captured a few women, children, horses and sheep and lost two soldiers and three wounded campaigns. Miles was unable to chase the Navajos. He realized that it was impossible to fight with the Navajos in a decisive battle on the field since they run away and hid in caves and mesas of Canyon de Chelly. Miles also believed that each expedition brought temporary peace to both sides. But, soon after the Navajos raided New Mexicans to restore their livestock damaged during the expedition. Miles did not want to continue his campaign in winter because of hard weather conditions in Dinetah. When Miles returned to Fort Defiance, he learned that Zarcillos Largos and a delegation of Navajos requested peace and

⁷⁵ Locke, p.333.

⁷⁶ Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy" (1937): p. 224.

Miles signed a thirty days armistice with the delegation on November 20, 1858. He asked newly appointed Adj. General of New Mexico, Benjamin Bonville whether he could start peace negotiations. Bonville and Superintendent John L. Collins rejected armistice terms and they prepared a new treaty. The peace council for the new treaty was held in Albuquerque.⁷⁷

Treaty terms were similar to the treaty of Laguna Negra. The Navajo would restore or pay damage of the New Mexicans property since August 15, the whole nation would be responsible for future depredations. But, nothing was mentioned about the New Mexican slave raids or any proposal was made to prevent New Mexican depredations or protection from Indian enemies of the Navajos. All Mexican and Navajo captives were to be surrendered. The most important article of the treaty was the first article that drew the borders of Dinétah again. The eastern boundary of the Navajo country was moved further inside that. This moved away the best grazing and arable lands of the Navajos. In addition, three to five thousand Navajos living on the eastern frontier had to move to the west. Also, the army would establish military posts, Indian agencies or use newly gained lands for farming purposes. The Bonville Treaty took one third of Diné and relinquished any Navajo grazing rights on the eastern boundary that opened a way for future New Mexican settlements. The cause of the war, surrender of the Navajo murderer was not demanded or even mentioned during the negotiations.⁷⁸

The treaty was signed on December 25 1858 and Huerro was appointed as headchief of the Navajos. Zargillos Largos and other chiefs of the peace party

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 227-29.

⁷⁸ Acrey, p. 313.

joined the council. Manuelito and supporters did not come to Albuquerque. It was certain that Maunelito rejected the Bonville treaty and new boundary of Dinetah. Although Manuelito did not accept the Bonville Treaty, he did not cause any trouble throughout 1859. Zarcillo Largos was also successful to keep young Navajos out of troubles a good sign for their sincerity to keep peace, Collins distributed the annuities to the Navajo. The Navajo were willing to keep peace, but Ute raids from the north and weakness of the U.S. army to control outlaws caused Navajo reprisals. In February 1859, Collins called Navajo chiefs, Navajo agent Yost, Ute chiefs and Ute agent Christopher Carson to join a peace conference in Denver to stop Ute raids and Navajo reprisals. Both tribes agreed to sign a peace treaty that would be enforced by the United States. The treaty did not end the long feud between them. Utes carried on their attacks together with New Mexican volunteers. The continued scouting activities for taking slaves. The Navajos responded the same way. In May, the Navajos stole 3,000 sheep and killed two herders that provoked the New Mexican scouting activities.⁷⁹

Although the Navajos became the victims of Ute and New Mexican raids, Collins considered the Navajos as troublemakers. He compelled Bonville to organize a new campaign in order to accomplish the peace treaty. Unlike Collins, General Bonville was convinced that majority of the Navajos was in favour of peace and only a few "landores" were causing trouble. He remained the Superintendent cost of a campaign,⁸⁰ But, pressure from the Superintendent and

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy"(1937); p. 235.

the citizens of New Mexico coaxed Bonville to authorize Major Simonson to command a new Navajo expedition. Major Simonson would remind the Navajos articles of agreement that bind all the Navajos to stop depredations of landores. Major also demanded restoration of stolen property that was worth \$ 14,000 from the New Mexicans since August 15, 1858. Major gave thirty days for payment.⁸¹ The Navajos paid 10% of the claims but refused to pay the rest of it. Actually, Zarcillos Largos and other Navajo chiefs had had enough to restore the stolen property. Although, the Navajos restored New Mexican property and returned their captives after each treaty, they had a neither promise of protection against the New Mexican and Ute raids, nor restoration of Navajo captives.

A year later, Zargillo Largos joined Manuelito's side. The first result of this alliance was an attack on Fort Defiance's grazing camp on January 17, 1860. Manuelito and Huerro led a force of about two hundred warriors against the hay camp. The Navajos burnt haystacks, but fire of the soldiers repealed the attack⁸². The Navajos stepped up their depredations in response to New Mexican and Ute attacks.

The Navajo attack outraged the New Mexicans and they called for the army to subjugate the Navajo . On the other hand, newly appointed Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy preferred arrival of additional troops to command to win a full-scale war against the Navajo. But the Navajo's second attack on Fort Defiance sped up the organization of the Navajo campaign.⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 238.

⁸² Locke, p.331.

⁸³ Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy" (1937): p.239

believed that late punishment could encourage Navajos to escalate their depredations. Until the military preparation completed, Rancher recommended organization of a volunteer army to defend themselves. Fauntleroy allowed an expedition of a volunteer force that composed of 300 Utes and New Mexicans. They burnt Navajo hogans and corps, stole their livestock and took captives. Volunteers destroyed the Navajo economic resources before the military expedition.⁸⁴ The military expedition started on 12th of September and Fauntleroy assigned Colonel Edward Canby to command the campaign. Canby made an earth-scurge campaign that the Navajos had never witness before. He employed Ute and Pueblo Indians as scouts and guides. Canby ordered destruction of Navajo livestock, crops, grazing lands and water sources.⁸⁵ Canby returned to Fort Defiance after staying in the field for a month.

But Canby did not retreat his troops from Navajo land and he considered possible winter expedition. Canby understood that the Navajo policy was not to fight but to hide. They would not fight unless driven to points from which there was no escape or forced to do so in defence of their families and flocks.⁸⁶ They could be subdued only through continuos and persistent war throughout the year and by forcing them to come out of their hiding places.

Canby invaded strategic points of the Navajo country where they could come back for food and kept them deserted from water and food supplies. In addition, soldiers relentlessly pursued the Navajo. Captured Navajos were

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

⁸⁵ Heyman, p.50.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

released to inform their people that operations would continue until the whole Navajos asked for peace.⁸⁷ The Navajo resistance came to an end in January. The Navajo signed a new treaty with the United States on February 15, 1861. The chiefs surrendered unconditionally, they accepted to prevent depredations of landores and assist the United States for their surrender. In return, Colonel Canby promised the Navajos protection of the United States against the outlaws.

Although the Canby Treaty promised protection from the army against the Mexican and the Ute Slave raids, they took advantage of weakened Navajos and intensified their raidings. Especially, the New Mexican carried on their depredations and provoked the Navajos to seek revenge. But, Canby was willing to keep outlaw Mexicans out of Dinetah. For this purpose, Canby employed more than four hundred soldiers along the New Mexican frontier line. He ordered soldiers punishment of Mexicans and enemy tribes of the Navajos if they caused any depredations or slave raid. But Colonel Canby's desire for peace was interrupted by the civil war. Removal of the troops to protect New Mexico from Texan invasion left the frontier line unchecked by the army. The army's departure renewed the long-standing feud between the New Mexicans and the Navajo.⁸⁸

During the Civil War, Canby had little intention to protect the Navajos from Ute and New Mexican raids and keeps the peace among these groups. But the American soldiers broke the peace between the Navajos and the Americans after the massacre of the U.S. soldiers at Fort Fauntleroy.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.52.

⁸⁸ Ibid.,p. 62.

After the Canby treaty, the Navajos came to Fort Fauntleroy to take rations. For the Navajos ration days turned into a festival that lasted over a week. Navajos traded blankets jewellery and joined horse races over which Navajos wagered with American soldiers.

On September 10, 1861, ration day became more crowded than usual. The Navajos were told to make a new treaty to replace the Canby that had been not ratified by the Congress. The number of the Navajos at the Fort increased while they were joining and betting on horse races. The biggest was on 22 September between Manuelito's horse and that of the fort's Assistant Surgeon Finis E. Kavanaugh. Manuelito lost the race. However, he discovered that his bridle was deliberately cut, and the Navajos demanded to run the race again. Soldiers rejected the proposal and returned to the post with their large⁸⁹ bet. When a Navajo tried to enter the Fort after the soldiers he was shot dead and this followed fired on other Navajos. Soldiers killed fifteen Navajos most whom were women and children.⁹⁰ The massacre at Fort Fountleroy ended the peace with the Americans and enhanced the Navajo raids along the New Mexican frontier during the Civil War.

The Navajo challenged American authority by stepping up their depredations in order to defend eastern grazing lands. But, the United States responded to Navajo raids by organizing military campaigns that weakened the Navajos economically and psychologically. Canby's campaign of 1861 brought

⁸⁹ Clifford E. Trafzer, *The Kit Carson Campaign: The Last Great Navajo War*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. P. 225,

⁹⁰ McNitt, *The Navajo Wars* pp.421-427.

about the unconditional surrender of many Navajos, including several important chiefs such as Manuelito, Ganado Mucho and Barboncito. When the Navajos signed Canby's treaty in 1861, they were hungry and poor. Canby's scorched earth expedition damaged animal husbandry and agriculture so much that the Navajos had to depend on government rations.

Canby's campaign marked a shift in U.S. policy towards the Navajo. With greater resources at his command and growing white demand for Navajo land, Canby fought a war of total conquest that aimed at destroying the material base of Navajo society in order to bring them under the total control of the U.S. government. Although Canby's tactics were new, the causes of conflict were old. Disputes arising from raids on livestock and individual battles over honor, like the outcome of the horse race at Fort Fauntelroy, continued to spin out of control into full-scale wars between the Navajo and their neighbors. The inability of either side to prevent these conflicts from starting and growing reflected the mutual suspicion that each had of the other's motives. In the end, United States officials believed that Navajo culture itself was the source of the trouble. Stereotyping the Navajo as belligerent nomadic thieves, white Americans thought that the Navajo would only stop fighting when they adopted Anglo-American ways. The U.S. not only failed to see the richness of a culture that diverged from the stereotype, but they also ignored the Navajo's determination to preserve their culture and their control of the Dinétah. As the Bosque Redondo years would prove, more than military might was needed to overcome that determination.

III. The Navajo Indians at the Bosque Redondo Reservation, 1864- 68:

From the beginning of Spanish colonization in 1600s to the American settlement in the Southwest, the Navajo resisted political and military control of Spain, Mexico and the United States until the Campaign of 1864. Carson's expedition did not only break long time Navajo resistance but also the Navajo were removed to Bosque Redondo Reservation in the southeast of New Mexico. They were held at the Bosque as prisoners of war until they signed Treaty of June in 1868 that allowed the Navajo to return their homeland. Bosque Redondo was a traumatic experience for the Navajo. American officials attempted to change animal husbandry Navajo economy into the agrarian one. However, the crop failure for four years because of draught, flood and insects never transformed the Navajo agrarians as officials hoped. Instead, the Navajos were reduced to depend on army rations that never became efficient to subsidize eight thousand Navajos. Diseases, malnutrition, economic and political mismanagement of the reservation and raids of the Comanche and the Kiowa, sunk the Navajos absolute poverty and despair.⁹¹ The Navajo despair at the Bosque provided political unity and cultural resistance among the Navajo Indians against the assimilation policy of the United States. The Navajo shared common things culturally, but, they were decentralized politically. They used to live scattered small bands with a headchief. At the Bosque, for the first time eight thousand Navajos had gathered and all of

⁹¹ Sherman to Grant, June 7th 1868 M666 Letters Received by the Office of Adjutant

them shared the same difficulties. The U.S. government dealt with the Navajo as one people and equally, the Navajo began to view themselves as politically one unit ⁹². While the Navajo were suffering from hunger, illness and homesickness, the Navajo endured discomfort of the Bosque by attaching to their cultural beliefs. For instance, during religious ceremonies large number Navajos gathered and prayed together to end their calamity at the Bosque that created spiritual unity and cooperation.

The Navajos at the Bosque were victims of Carlton's desire to establish policy of assimilation of the Native Americans on reservations as an alternative to the treaty making policy of the United States. Until end of 1840s, the United States pursued policy of 'treaty making and separation'. The Constitution authorised Congress to make treaties and to regulate trade with Native American tribes. Treaties had two purposes. They were signed either to declare peace or to acquire land from the Indian tribe. When land was acquired, the Indian tribe relinquished all land rights to the United States except for the areas that were reserved to the tribe forever and Indians could keep their tribal authority. In return, the Federal Government agreed to pay for the relinquished land.

In 1840s, was the era of expansion of the United States. In this period, the United States annexed Texas in 1845, settled Oregon dispute with Britain in 1843 and gained California, New Mexico, Utah and Nevada from Mexico as result of treaty of Guadalup Hidalgo in 1848. The United States expansion policy was justified with a national doctrine called "Manifest Destiny." ⁹³ According to this

⁹² Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983 p. 19

⁹³ Clifford E. Trafzer, *The Kit Carson Campaign*. p. 299.

doctrine, God destined the United States to expand her boundaries from Atlantic to Pacific and carry out the Anglo civilization to all over the continent. Manifest Destiny influenced Native American tribes directly. The Native Americans were considered as barriers to American progress. Location of the Native Americans on reservations by treaty and their assimilation into American Society appeared as a solution for continuation of American progress. Although, the Native Americans lived on reserved land and areas, segregated from the whites, the idea of reservation or an Indian island surrounded by whites and government sponsored assimilation was new.⁹⁴ Reservations were designed to introduce civilization to the Native Americans. According to the Americans civilized meant transformation of the Native Americans from hunting gathering state to a state of society depend upon agriculture, learning reading and writing and conversion into Christianity.⁹⁵ Farming was the essential part of assimilation policy. Through farming, the Natives would have permanent settlements that would cease their wandering. As, a result their depredations on white settlers would stop. Moreover, they would have proper labor and self-sufficient farmers that would save public money, which was appropriated annually. When transformation of the Native Americans completed, the Indian Islands would vanish from the earth.

First reservations were established for the California Indians in 1853, in order to protect the California Indians land rights from the White aggression. For this purpose, the Superintendent of California established three reservation farms where the Natives Americans were granted land and planted with assist of

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, Abridged Edition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.

government officials. However, because of unproductive soil and white Americans' land claims on the established farms failed the reservations.

When Carlton was appointed Military Commander of New Mexico from California, he hoped to prevent Native American raidings by providing them a settled life on the reservation through teaching art of farming. After successful campaign of 1864 against the Navajo, he rejected to negotiate any treaty with the Indians unlike previous commanders of the region. He ordered removal the Navajo to Bosque Redondo. Mining and grazing land dispute were other reasons for the Navajo removal. Reports that indicated rich gold mines in Navajo country had already attracted miners to Dinetah and Carlton had Fort Whipple built in 1863 to protect the miners.⁹⁶ Also, the New Mexicans put pressure on local politicians and army officials in order to gain rich grazing areas on the east of the Navajo country. Removal of the Navajos would secure mining activities and solve the land dispute between the Navajos and New Mexicans as well.

Although economic considerations were important reasons for Navajo exile to the Bosque, Carlton's main consideration was civilization of the Navajo Indians together with Mescalero Apaches. Bosque Redondo would be an Island where all the Navajos would adopt American way of life. If Carlton's plan became successful unlike the California experience, his program would become Indian policy of the Federal Government.

But, the Bosque never turned a Navajo Island as he expected. It wasedondo was a poor choice for a reservation. The soil was unproductive, water was

⁹⁶ Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy"(1937),p. 250.

undrinkable and fuel was scarce. In addition, Carlton's feud rather cooperation with officials of Bureau of Indian affairs over the jurisdiction of the reservation contributed the Bosque's failure. Reservations were designed for Indian assimilation. But, for the Navajos, the Bosque became a place where they kept their tribal identity against the assimilation and political unification.

1. The Kit Carson Campaign and the Long Walk:

Carlton's plan to expose the Indians could be assimilated on a reservation as an alternative to Washington's policy of treaty, provide security for the future railroads, white settlements, mining purposes and increased Navajo depredations since the massacre at Fort Fountleroy were reasons behind the Carson Campaign of 1863-64 and exile of the Navajos to the Bosque Redondo Reservation.

First step of Carlton's plans was the subjugation of the Mescalero Apaches. General Carlton authorized Carson to command the campaign and ordered him to kill all Mescalero men whenever he could find them. Carlton added that women and children were not harmed, they would be kept as prisoners of war; If their chiefs begged for peace they had to come to Santa Fe to talk to General Carlton⁹⁷. Carson subdued the Mescalero Apaches in five months. End of the campaign, the Mescaleros were remove to the Bosque Redondo Reservation.

In 1863, before the Carson Campaign, the Navajo were defeated by the Americans, demoralized by relentless Ute and New Mexican raids that made them

⁹⁷ Edwin L. Sabin, *The Kit Carson Days, Vol II*, New York: The Press of The Pioneers,

poor and hungry .⁹⁸ The Navajo who observed the Mescalero Campaign realized that they would be punished like the Apaches. While Carson was on the field fighting for subjugation of the Navajo Indians, a delegation of Navajo Chiefs, included Delgadito and Barbancito visited Carlton in Santa Fe in February 1863. The chiefs offered to hold a peace council in order to prevent a new campaign against the Navajo. Carleton told the delegation that permanent peace would achieve when all Navajos accepted to go to Bosque Redondo where they would be under the protection of the U.S. government. In April, again a delegation came to Fort Wingate when Carlton visited the Fort, but Carlton repeated that the Navajo had to go to Bosque Redondo if they wanted peace.⁹⁹ Preparations for the Navajo campaign were completed and on June 15, 1863. Carlton ordered Carson to command the campaign. Carson was instructed to "...kill Navajo men without parley when they resist to surrender. The women and children would be taken prisoners until the people were ready to surrender for deportation to the Bosque Redondo."¹⁰⁰

Carson based his campaign on two principles. First, he exploited the feud between the Navajo and Indian enemies of the Navajo tribe, Pueblos, Hopis and especially the Utes. As a former Ute Indian agent, Carson was aware that Utes were interested in taking captives and sell them as slaves. Carson needed guidance of the Utes warriors who knew the geography of Canyon de Chelly. Carson wrote Carlton to allow the Utes to hold Navajo captives and to sell them to the New

⁹⁸ Locke, pp. 439-41.

⁹⁹ Collins, May 11th 1864, M234 Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexican Superintendency, Roll 552 1864-65.

¹⁰⁰ Sabin, Kit Carson Days , p.711.

Mexican families. He emphasized that the captured Navajo women and children would be fed and looked after by the Mexicans that would provide better condition than they would be on the reservation.¹⁰¹ However, Carlton rejected Carson's request. He ordered that "all prisoners which are captured by the troops or employees of your command (Carson) will be sent to Santa Fe by feet...there must be no exception to this rule".¹⁰² Although, Carlton turned down permission for slave trade, he encouraged soldiers to fight fiercely by offering price money bonus of \$20 for every serviceable horse and mule captured from the Navajos and delivered to the Quartermasters; and \$ 1 for each sheep.¹⁰³ The second tactic was 'earth-scorched' policy. He forced the Navajo to surrender by cutting of their economic resources as Canby did in 1860-61. Carson's soldiers captured Navajo herds and horses. Navajo fields were destroyed all the crops of beans, pumpkins, corns etc were burnt. He ordered closing of water pits or occupying all water supplies with small detachment of troops.¹⁰⁴

When the campaign started in June 1863, some of the Navajos moved to Deep South and west. But many took refuge in Canyon de Chelly. For centuries, Canyon de Chelly, with walls a thousand feet high and thirty miles in length, became the stronghold of the Navajos that gave protection from invasions of Spaniards, Mexicans and enemy Indian tribes¹⁰⁵. The Navajo Indians endured the pressure upon them throughout fall of 1863 and only in small numbers they were

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Carlton to Carson , August 18th, 1863. M234 Roll. 551 1862-63.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Sabin, 711.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

surrendered. Captured and surrendered Navajos were naked, hungry and especially the children suffered from extreme cold;¹⁰⁶ Some of the surrendered Navajos were released to inform the others to go to the Bosque where they would be fed and clothed by the government. Otherwise the campaign would continue until they gave up. Carlton considered the winter as the best suitable time to subdue the Navajos. He ordered Carson to invade Canyon de Chelly. Carson's winter campaign started on December 6, 1863 and he occupied east and west entrance of the canyon and cut off all food supplies of the Navajos. Although Carson wanted to delay winter campaign due to the heavy snow in Navajo country, Carlton ordered him to continue his operations until the Navajos begged for peace. The Navajo resistance was broken in January. In large numbers, the Navajo surrendered voluntarily.

As the number of surrendered and captured Navajos increased at Fort Canby and Fort Wingate where they were held as prisoners of war to be sent to the Bosque, the army officials burdened feeding them. Therefore, it was imperative to remove the Navajos to their new reservation where they could be fed cheap.¹⁰⁷ On February 2, 1864, first contingent of the Navajo, nearly two hundred, started their journey from Fort Canby to Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo. In, March two thousand Navajos started their journey under the guarding of the American soldiers while other were waiting for their term.

¹⁰⁶ Carlton to Commissioner of the Indian Affairs, December 12th 1863 MG 234 Roll. 551 1862-63.

¹⁰⁷ Lynn R. Bailey, *The Bosque Redondo: An American Concentration Camp*, Pasadena, CA: Social Technical Books, 1970. p. 56.

The Navajo call their removal to the Bosque “ The Long Walk” that emphasised the length of the route which was approximately three hundred miles. The march was torturous for the Navajos. Only a few Navajos, belonged to ricos had horses and travelled in comfort. The majority of the Navajo had to journey by feet and they were destitute of clothing for the long journey,¹⁰⁸

The biggest problem that the Navajo faced was food rations. The Navajo were reduced to hunger during the Carson's campaign and they were promised to be fed at Fort Canby and at Fort Wingate until they started their journey. Flour, pork, beans and coffee were commonly issued at the Forts and during the Long Walk. However, they were strange to the Navajo and were distributed without given any instruction how to prepare them. The Navajos ate flour as raw or dough or cooked mush like they used to with corn that killed or made the Navajos sick. In addition, the meat was not fit to eat and every time somebody died from the food, the Navajos refused to get anything from the army by thinking that the army was trying to poison the Navajos.¹⁰⁹ Many of the Navajos substituted themselves with yucca plants, berries and the grain of different plants instead of taking food rations. Starvation and dysentery caused deaths on the journey. When the Navajos asked to bury their kinsmen, soldiers rejected and the death bodies “were left to...be devoured by the coyotes and other animals”.¹¹⁰ The mass removal of the Navajo continued from winter 1864 to late November 1864 when the Navajo

¹⁰⁸ Acrey, p. 47.

¹⁰⁹ Crawford R. Buell, "The Navajo Long Walk Collections by Navajos" *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective*, ed. Albert H. Schroeder, New Mexico: Glorieta, 1973. p.177.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

population reached 8,570 at the Bosque.¹¹¹ The journey to the Bosque was the beginning of the difficulties that they would have experienced at the Bosque.¹¹²

Carson campaign subdued five thousand Navajo Indians at Canyon de Chelly, but influential Navajo chiefs Manuelito, Barbontico, Armijo and Ganado Mucho were still free¹¹³ and kept on giving trouble to the New Mexicans as Superintendent of New Mexico, Micheal Steck did complain in his letter, “a vast majority of the warriors are still in their own country and those at Bosque Redondo are principally the poor who have willingly given Themselves up under the promises that should be fed.... complaints of stock having been reported during last two weeks...it is claimed that the tribe is subdued.”¹¹⁴

But, surrender of Manuelito in February 1865, and other chiefs ended the Navajo threat. Carson's campaign compelled the Navajo to “abandon an area of country larger than the State of Ohio to the pastoral and mining purposes of (American) citizens and left entirely free the transmit from this territory (Navajo country) to Arizona and California”.¹¹⁵

2. Navajo Cultural Resistance at Bosque Redondo:

The Bosque Redondo Reservation never make the Navajos self sufficient farmers as General Carlton hoped. Unproductive soil, natural disasters and

¹¹¹ . Acrey, p. 51.

¹¹² Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, p. 57.

¹¹³ Locke, p.440.

¹¹⁴ Steck to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 28th 1864, MG 234 Roll 560 1864-65.

¹¹⁵ Governor Cornelly, March 12th 1864, MG 234 Roll 560 1864-65.

immense cost of feeding the Navajos failed the Bosque. As well as economic difficulties, Navajos' cultural resistance against Carlton's assimilation plan was another important factor for their return to Dinétah. Settled life through farming, Anglo-American education of the Navajo children and conversion into Christianity were objectives of assimilation program. Carlton's assimilation plan seemed to be successful. Many Navajo family units that Carlton considered as core to the Navajo culture had been destroyed during Carson's Campaign. First time in their history eight thousand Navajos gathered together on a different environment and they were strange to each others. On the Bosque, the Navajo Indians were no longer master of their fate but a subject people of directed cultural change ¹¹⁶. Unlike Carlton's expectations, Navajos resisted against assimilation program although they had no free choice to reject what was directed to them. As they did during Spanish period, Navajos refused or adopted Anglo-American traits that could be fit to the Navajo culture and help them to survive on the Bosque. For example, the Navajos accepted farming not as part of Carlton's assimilation plan, but to get enough rations. As difficulties or pressure of the authorities increased over the Navajos, they more attached to their culture that forced Carlton's plan to make it suitable to the Navajos.¹¹⁷ Resistance to keep what they accustomed or believe created cooperation among the Navajos that resulted in return their homeland.

First step to Carlton's assimilation program was political and cultural reorganization of the Navajo tribe. In, April 1865, Board of Officers made

¹¹⁶ Hester, p.53,

lifetime, his ghost can give trouble to living ones. Navajos think that the best way avoid from the ghost is to abandon the dead in a hogan and left his belongings.¹²⁰ The custom was difficult to be understood by Carlton and other American authorities. Navajos resisted to enter the adobe again when death occurred that forced Carlton to give up Navajo pueblo. Navajos were allowed to settle in family groups around the confines of the post, close to planting grounds.¹²¹

For the same reason, Navajos rejected to have medical treatment from army doctors at the post hospital. When Navajos learned their relatives died at the hospital they avoid entering hospital. Because of this belief, army surgeon Doctor Gwenter removed nearly dying patients from the hospital¹²², or he treated the patients outside. Apart from fear of ghost, Navajos were suspicious about having modern medical treatment. Doctor Gwenter accused medicine men of preventing Navajos to come to hospital. Although sickness was widespread among the Navajos, they applied medicine men to cure and Doctor Gwenter stated Navajo attitude as an ignorant act that steadily declined the usefulness of the hospital¹²³. But, from the Navajo point of view sickness or accidental injury may be disturbance of The Holy People or supernaturals that keep the world in order. Medicine man is responsible to appease the supernaturals by performing curing ceremony. Navajo ceremonies require large gathering of people for being effective.¹²⁴ During ceremony the patient is surrendered by his kinsmen, neighbors

¹²⁰ Downs, p.19.

¹²¹ Bailey, pp.65.

¹²² Osborn, "The Navajo at the Bosque", *Native American Past and Present*, p. 185.

¹²³ Gwenter, August 4th 1865, Correll, pp. 117-118.

¹²⁴ Osborne, p.96.

and friends that the patient feels himself succored and loved.¹²⁵ End of the ceremony family and kinsmen of the patient do payment to the medicine man and feed the guests. Expenses of the guest are shared both by the family and his kinsmen. Thus, each curing ceremony is spiritual and material cooperation between family, kinsmen and neighbors. At Bosque Redondo, Navajo ceremonies functioned as a cultural unity and spiritual power to endure diseases, homesickness, and hunger. Ceremonies became meeting of kinsmen, neighbors and friends who did not only pray to cure the patient but to be released from captivity and return to Dinétah. Navajo Indians challenged to send their children to Anglo school at the Fort Sumner. Carlton considered that education was essential for the success assimilation. The Navajo children would be taught truths of Christianity and art of peace through education. They would acquire new habits, new ideas and new modes of life and became happy content people who would remember the Navajo Wars only as something in the past.¹²⁶ Carlton had a chapel built near the Fort Sumner and in May 1865, Bishop Lamy with two assistants was appointed to educate Indian Children.¹²⁷ Navajos sent their children to school to get additional rations. When army rations remained same or cut off, Navajos ceased attending to school and the chapel was deserted.¹²⁸ Carlton was not the only person who attempted to convert the Navajos into Christianity. Spaniards established missions at Cebolleta and Encinal around 1750s to convert the Navajos. Navajos attended missions as long as they were

¹²⁵ Kluchohn and Leighton, p.96.

¹²⁶ Carlton, September 6th 1863, Correll, Vol.4, pp.131.

¹²⁷ Cutler, May 29th 1865, Correl, Vol. 5, pp.135-136.

¹²⁸ Bailey, p. 68.

given food, clothing or livestock. As Father Miguel Menchero of Cebolleta mission stated, the Navajos “had no desire to live like Pueblos or wish to be Christians.”¹²⁹ Navajo reaction was the same toward the Protestant missionaries which became intense after the region was added to the United States. A Methodist missionary described the Navajo country as the most heathenish one in the Southwest and he remarked “their rites, ceremonies, and all their worship showed them to be entirely ignorant of God, and the light that comes from Christianity”.¹³⁰ Navajos viewed Christianity complex set of beliefs and unadoptable to their beliefs. For example, Bible speaks of a male God and of a society where authority and responsibility centers chiefly in men whereas in the Navajo society both sexes cooperated in many activities such as housebuilding, farming.¹³¹

Bosque Redondo was economic failure because of unproductivity of soil, alkali water and scarcity of wood. Also, Bosque was disaster for assimilation of the Native Americans. Carlton planned to weaken kinship, clan and band relationship and alienated Navajos by destroying family units during Carson’s Campaign. Thus, Carlton thought that Anglo-American culture would replace the Navajo. But Carlton did not predict any resistance from the Navajo Indians. As a reaction to Carlton’s assimilation policy, Navajo Indians rejected Anglo education, modern medical treatment and Christianity that either clashed to their beliefs or

¹²⁹ Hester, p. 54.

¹³⁰ Micheal J. Warner, "The Fertile Ground: The Beginnings of Protestant Missionary Work With the Navajos, 1850-1890", *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historical Perspective*, Glorieta, NM:Glorietta 1973.

¹³¹ Kluchohn and Leighton, p. 93.

considered not to get any benefit from it. Instead, Navajos more attached to their ceremonies to bring cure to their desperate situation at the Bosque that created psychological and spiritual unity unlike Carlton's expectation.

3. Economics at the Bosque:

Although Steck warned Carlton productivity of the Bosque, Carlton considered the Bosque's location best for farming. According to Carlton, location of the Reservation was the richest in the territory. Lands of the Bosque were flat and with opening of acquitas (irrigation ditch), Pecos River would provide irrigation.¹³² Carlton believed that Navajos would become self-sufficient farmers in one or two years and he hoped Steck could provide financial aid until the transformation completed. However, Steck who opposed Navajo settlement on the Bosque rejected any kind of financial aid to furnish Navajos that put the General in a difficult position.

Farming project started soon when the first group of the Navajo arrived the Bosque in February. The Navajo worked very hard to plant crops under the Superintendency of Captain Colloway. They ditched acquitas, cleaned the farming land from mesquite roots and planted three thousand acres of corn, pumpkins etc. Harvest in summer could solve the problem of subsidizing the Navajos for next winter. However, expectation of good harvest failed when armyworm damaged planted corn before it came to maturity.¹³³ In October, wheat, planted to augment of the corn was beaten by series of cloudburst.¹³⁴ The Navajo would spend the

¹³² Sgt. Crooker to Captain Ben C. Cutler, M234 Roll 552, 1864-65.

¹³³ Captain McCabe, January 3rd 1865, Correll, op. cit. pp. 30-39.

¹³⁴ Bailey, p. 75.

winter by depending on army rations. Winter was harsh for the Navajo. Although the Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the Navajos in June 1864, the aid did not reach the reservation. In September the Navajo were counted as eight thousand that needed rations immediately.

Crop failure and the Navajo struggle to survive with little army rations did not affect Carlton's wish to make the Bosque Indian plantation. Under the direction of military authorities, the Navajo enlarged and expended acquitas and plantation ground increased from three thousand to nine thousand acres. According to estimates cultivated crops would not only furnish full supplies of the Navajo, but would furnish Fort Sumner as well. In addition large quantity of wheat was planted in addition to the usual amount of corn, so that in the event of a failure of the latter crop, a sufficient quantity of grain might be raised for their support.¹³⁵ Like previous year, hopeful expectations were shattered in mid-summer when larva of armyworms were realised. Also, heavy frosts and rains and hails destroyed all crops at the Bosque like anywhere else in New Mexico. Harvest was very much below the expectations; corn totalled 423,582, wheat 34,113 pounds that could feed the Navajo for one or two months.¹³⁶

After two years of crop failure, the New Mexicans began to criticize enormous cost of subsidizing the Navajo and named the Bosque 'Sweet Carltonia'. They were already upset to share best grazing grounds with the Navajo and they feared increase of Navajo depredations again. Although Joint Committee's investigation and Graves' reports emphasized the insufficiency of the

¹³⁵ McCabe, January 3rd 1865, Correll, Vol 5, pp. 30-39.

¹³⁶ Agent Dodd, Report to The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866: p.152.

Bosque, the Navajo were still held as prisoners of war. Result of these reports was the appointment of a permanent Navajo agent, Theodore Dodd. When he came to the reservation, like ex-superintendent Steck, he criticized Carlton to choose the Bosque as a reservation. According to Dodd, the Navajo were good weavers and herders. They should have encouraged raising livestock that was the best thing the Navajo could do and the Navajo women's excellency in weaving should have turned into profitable business. If Navajos furnished with wool they could weave their blankets that would save thousands of dollars spending for the blankets and they could trade them with Mexicans. Although he was not in favour of making the Navajo farmers, he worked for development of Navajo farming. He purchased modern agricultural implement with appropriated money and recommended hiring of “ a practical farmer at a good salary three or four assistants and about good workers to direct Indian labour, take care of tools, seeds grain and public property”.¹³⁷ But, Dodd's struggle to improve farming at the Bosque failed. The corn had poorest quality and like previous year totalled crops could be sufficient just for a few months. Disappointed Navajos deserted the reservation in large numbers Eight thousand decreased to five thousand and they refused to plant anything for 1867.

The crop failure of 1866 prepared end of Carlton. Criticism against ‘Sweet Carltonia’ became harsh and the citizens of New Mexico addressed to memorial to President Andrew Johnson asking for Carlton's removal. Carlton was

¹³⁷ Dodd, to Special Agent, Feb 6th 1866, Correll, Vol 5, p.303 .

appointed to Florida in September 1867 and the Navajo were transformed from the War Department to interior.¹³⁸

4. Politics at Bosque Redondo Reservation:

Mining and animal husbandry for the benefit of the Americans were important reasons of Navajo exile to the Bosque. But, the main reason was Carlton's plan transformation of raider tribe into civilised ones through assimilation. But, Steck objected Carlton's plan. opposition to prevent removal of the Navajos to the Bosque strained the relationship between the army and Indian officials. Lack of cooperation between the two offices increased the Navajo struggle on the reservation. Disagreement between the General and Superintendent locked on two points; whether the Bosque was a suitable reservation for the Navajo Indians or not and which office was in charge of the Navajo Indians.

Steck, like General Carlton was in favour of the reservation system in order to protect them from white aggression and to facilitate their assimilation through introducing private property, making them self sufficient farmers and educating the Indian children at Anglo schools. But, the Superintendent disagreed as to the Navajo removal to the Bosque Redondo. It was designed for small number of Indians. It could feed mostly 2,500 people. On the other hand, the Navajo population was estimated at 16,000. They had thousands of horses and not less than 500,000 sheep. The size made it impracticable to locate them upon a

¹³⁸ Trafzer, p.253..

reservation of forty square miles with six thousand acres of arable land.¹³⁹ Steck supported his argument with a letter of John A. Clark, the general surveyor of the territory. Clark shared Steck's concern. If, the Navajos were removed to the Bosque, forty miles square land, scarce timber and drinking water could not supply their needs.

Steck's second objection was the establishment of Navajos and the Mescalero Apache who were hostile to each other for centuries, upon the same reservation. Carlton believed that the Navajo and the Mescalero Apache were same group of Indians. He had realized similarities between two tribes. Both were raiders and distant cousins, and their languages were similar. But, Carlton neglected profound differences of the Native American tribes in beliefs, sentiments, habits and customs.¹⁴⁰ When the Navajo arrived the Bosque, the Mescalero Apache were working in the farms under army guard. Although, the Apaches had no experience of farming like Navajos, they showed good signs for Carlton's assimilation plan. But, the Navajo pressure caused Mescalero desertation of the reservation. The Navajo settlement outnumbered the Mescaleros and their gardens and livestock became main target for raids of the hungry Navajos. In spring 1865, 355 Apache left the Bosque and in November, the number of the Mescaleros on the reservation was twelve. In his annual report, Commissioner of the Indian affairs accepted that the Bosque was failure for the Mescalero Apache, "Mescalero Apaches faithfully tilled the soil with ample

¹³⁹ Steck to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 10th 1863, M234 Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency Roll. 551 1862- 63.

¹⁴⁰ Bailey, p.102.

success, when the Navajos removed to that place. Being feud with the Navajos and outnumbered by them, Mescalero Apaches gradually left the reservation...thus fruits of two or three years in labor in reclaiming them from their savage life has been lost."¹⁴¹

Like the Apache and Navajo feud, Carlton dismissed the Commanche and Navajo hostility by making them neighbours. The Commanche considered Bosque as their ancestral land and hated Navajo establishment upon there. They raided Navajo livestock and took Navajo captives. The Commanche raids were encouraged by Mexican traders who constantly visited the region with donkeys loaded with merchandise and in many cases with whisky and ammunition. These traders exchanged goods for cattle and horses, and supplied the Commanche with whisky and ammunition¹⁴². Strict army control in the region could spoil profitable illegal trade. The Commanche raids upon the herds of the Navajos were not only to get their livestock to sell and use, but also to make Navajos dissatisfied with their situation and to compel them to desert the Bosque Redondo,¹⁴³.

The second controversy between Carlton and Steck was whether the army or the Indian office was in charge of the Navajos. The reservation was managed according to double jurisdiction; while the military was feeding the Navajo captives, stood guard and superintending the farming operations, the Indian Bureau provided clothing and equipment.¹⁴⁴ The Biggest problem of the controversy was money appropriation to subsidize the Navajo Indian. Steck was

¹⁴¹ Norton, Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington: GPO, 1866: p. 32.

¹⁴² Norton to Cooley, July 31st 1866, GPO, 1866: p. 146.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

responsible to prepare budget for the tribes under his charge according to reports of Indian agents. Steck rejected any financial help to the Navajos from the budget of Bureau of Indian Affairs. He stated that the Navajos were prisoners of war that meant they were under the charge of the War Department.

Carson's military success at the Canon de Chelly in January 1864, yielded surrender of thousands of Navajos, most of whom volunteered to go to the Bosque where they were promised food . General Carlton estimated that the Navajo could start subsidizing themselves in a year. Until they start farming and harvesting crops, army could feed the Navajo Indians. However, increased number of the Navajo who urgently needed clothing, food and shelter run the military provisions in a short time. By the end of 1864, the number of Navajos on the reservation reached over eight thousand. Carlton had no preparation for the great amount of the Navajo. He believed that New Mexican Superintendency was responsible taking care of the Navajo. The military had the job of settling the Navajo on the reservation. On the other hand, Steck refused to take charge of the Navajo. Steck considered them as prisoners of war that made the Navajo belong to the war department and should be held by the War Department until hostilities ease with the tribe.¹⁴⁵ Steck emphasized that the Superintendency had no funds for incidental expenses or provisions and hence, could not take charge of them and provide for their wants. But, Steck could be authorized to purchase blankets and

¹⁴⁴ Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy In New Mexico, Part II: 1858-1880" *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol XII(Jan. 1938): p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ Steck to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 23rd 1864, M234 Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, Roll 552 1864-65.

clothing “as an act of charity, relieve the suffering Navajos that kind intentions of the government towards them”.¹⁴⁶

Steck’s main concern was the expense of the Navajo on the Bosque .In March 1864, Carlton sent former superintendent of New Mexico, Collins, who supported Carlton’s Bosque policy, to Washington D.C. in order to find fund for the Navajos.¹⁴⁷ As a result of their effort, Congress appropriated \$ 100,000 to “settling subsisting and supporting the captive Navajos in Bosque Redondo” in July.¹⁴⁸ Steck pointed out that Navajos costed \$700,000 to the War Department from March 1 to June 25 and the appropriated money could feed the Navajos just for two weeks. Steck warned the Department of Interior not to take charge of the Navajo whose needs could not be supplied by the Office of the Indian Affairs.¹⁴⁹ Steck’s fear about the cost of feeding Navajos came true in fall of 1864 with the failure of crops second time in a year. Carlton’s plan to make the Navajos self-sufficient in a year failed. Eight thousand Navajo would need army provisions to spend the winter. Steck critized Carlton again. According Steck, Bosque Redondo was not suitable for farming. Water of the Pecos River was very salty and few years irrigation would make the soil unproductive if the water was not sterilized

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy In New Mexico:1858- 1880 *New Mexican Historical Review* (1938):p. 23.

¹⁴⁸ W.P. Dole to Secretary of Interior, July 16th 1864, Washington: GPO 1864: p. 356-57.

¹⁴⁹ Steck to W.P. Dole, June 25th 1864, Washington: GPO 1864: p. 359.

totally. According to Steck , best solution for the Navajos to send them back to their country and to be given a proper reservation.¹⁵⁰

Although Superintendent Steck was right that Bosque could not be a permanent settlement for the Navajo Indians, scandals in the B.I.A weakened his position and he resigned from the office in April 1865. The first charge against the B.I.A purchased items that arrived the Bosque end of December. As a part of his duty, Steck delivered blankets, shoes, tools and beads to the Navajo. A board of army officers that were army personnel was authorized to be present at the distribution.¹⁵¹ A short time later, Board of Inquiry found that many purchased items had no immediate needs such as nails, iron, blacksmith's tools and leather. Moreover, many items were purchased at prices higher than market value. Blankets for example, were purchased at an average of \$ 15.80 per pair in other departments of the government (Quartermasters and Ordinance). They were furnished at an average of \$5.85 per pair.¹⁵² The Board concluded that all the goods could be purchased between \$30.000 or \$ 40.000 ¹⁵³. According to Steck's total cost of items was approximately \$ 100.000. The Board of Inquiry submitted their report to Carlton. He sent reports to Washington. Steck countered the charges and in a letter to the Commissioner of the Indian Affairs. He commented that blankets were purchased in the east where prices were considerably higher, and that "the inspection estimates were based on examination of little more than

¹⁵⁰ Steck, September 23rd 1864, M243 Roll 552 1864-65.

¹⁵¹ Bailey, p.38

¹⁵² Findings of Board of Officers, December 23rd 1864, Correll,, Vol 5, p. 27.

¹⁵³ Bailey, p. 122.

half of the articles actually purchased".¹⁵⁴ There was no inquiry for Steck . But accusations worsened the relationship between two offices.

Second charge was made against Mescalero Apache agent Lorenzo Labadie. Labadie shared the same opinion with Steck. Labadi tried to keep the Navajo herds and the Navajos out of the grazing land that he claimed belonged to the Mescaleros. After army's investigation, it was revealed that Labadie's large flock of sheep was grazing in reservation limits and that was purchasing animals from the Indians. Carlton ordered him not to drive off his flock out of reservation limits and forbid him from trading with the Indians under his charge.¹⁵⁵ Later, when Labadi, interfered with two army officers, he was forced to resign from the Indian office.

In March 1865, Second Lieutenant Edwin J. Edgar, commanding the picket guard at the post, inspected several wagons that belonged to the agent and he found two sacks of corn and a number of agricultural implements, which were property of the government. When Labadi was questioned about his cargo, he confessed that he took articles from Captain Calloway, Superintendent of Navajo farms. In addition, he revealed that he had negotiated with Quartermaster officer, Captain Prince G. Morton and he had seventy-five sheep that belonged to the U.S. Army .¹⁵⁶ Both military officers were dismissed from the service and Labadi was ordered. In April Superintendent Steck resigned from the office.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.,p. 126.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 127.

¹⁵⁶ Lt. Edwin J. Edgar , March 27th 1865, Correll, Vol 5, pp.100-102

Doolittle Committee:

When the Civil War ended, the United States turned its attention to the Indian problem. In Washington, there was growing suspicion that many Indian wars were provoked by aggressions of lawless white men.¹⁵⁷ On March 3, 1865, a joint committee composed of members of both houses of the Congress was appointed to direct inquiry into the condition of the Indian tribes and their treatment by the civil and military authorities.¹⁵⁸ Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin became the head of the committee. Doolittle Committee arrived New Mexico in summer and collecting data by testifying officials from the army and Indian department, clergy, business, social and political leaders.¹⁵⁹ The investigation of the Committee revealed deep Indian problems of New Mexico.

The Committee was convinced that slavery was the main cause of the conflict between New Mexicans and the Indians. As a result of the investigation, President Andrew Johnson's order on June 9 1866 banned the enslavement of Indians by the New Mexicans and any Indian or Mexican slave raids. But in New Mexico, the practice still continued among the New Mexicans. Slavery was a custom that has been long existed in New Mexico and the tribes in the territory had carried on this kind of traffic. Large amount of slaves were the Navajo.¹⁶⁰ As a resident pointed out during his testimony, the Navajo had sheep, horses and many children. The committee was convinced that the Navajos were victims of the slave raids of New Mexicans provoked Navajos for reprisal.

¹⁵⁷ Bailey, p.129.

¹⁵⁸ Joint Resolution of the Congress, March 3rd 1865, Correll, Vol 5., p. 82.

¹⁵⁹ Bailey, 131.

¹⁶⁰ Testimony of Dr. Louis Kennon, July 4th 1865, Correll, Vol. 5, p.190.

On the other hand, the committee did not reach any conclusion over the Bosque issue. BIA , army officials and civilians had different opinions about the reservation. Carlton told the committee that the reservation system was the only solution for assimilation of the Navajo and other Native American tribes. According to Carlton, the problem of the Bosque was double jurisdiction and he suggested the sole control of the Native Americans to be vested with the War Department. Like Carlton, Carson agreed to transfer of the Indian Bureau to the military in order to prevent jealousies among the employment of the different departments. Former Indian Agent John Greiner considered the Bosque's main problem was frequently changed agents who were usually appointed for political services. Governor Connelly was in favour of the Navajo settlement on the Bosque. But, Herrero, as spokesmen of his people told the committee of the sufferings of the Navajo on the Bosque. Before coming to the Bosque, the Navajos had many sheep and horses but lost them during round -up, when they were taken by the Utes and the Mexicans. On the reservation they did not have enough food to eat, they could not drink the water because it had alkali and killed or made many Navajos sick. Soldiers did not treat them well. When, they were at work; if they stopped soldiers kicked them or whipped them. Herrero added that all the Navajos wanted to go to their country and he promised not to commit act of hostility. Another witness, Percy Ayers agreed with Herrero that water was very bad, could not be drunk. Moreover, wood was rare. The Bosque could not feed the Navajo.¹⁶¹ The committee members also learned horrors of the Navajo round up and the long walk.

¹⁶¹ Investigation of Doolittle Committee, Correll, Vol, 5, pp.168-203.

When the Doolittle Committee returned to Washington, the Committee requested the Interior Department to investigate the Bosque to have more clear information about the reservation, and the Navajo problem.¹⁶² For a new investigation, the secretary of Interior appointed Julius K. Graves as a special agent to report "...the facts necessary to a conclusion as to retain the Navajos at the Bosque permanently and as to the cost of providing for them there, with allotments of land and to make examination and report as to the condition of affairs at each other agencies in regard to which this office is lamentably deficient in information knowing neither has been done or what ought to be done behalf of the Indian ."¹⁶³

Graves made a through and detailed series of reports in the spring of 1866. Graves was convinced that policy of general Carlton did have an excellent effect that the Navajoes were doing well upon the reservation. This was the best that government could do to put an end to the quarrels between the New Mexicans and the Navajos. The reservation was suitable for the Navajos but not together with the Mescaleros. The water was all right, although complaints and dysentery among the Navajos, and Pecos Valley was suitable for grazing.¹⁶⁴ The handicap of the Bosque was divided jurisdiction. The Navajo were prisoners of war and sustained as to all supplies beyond what they raised themselves. They should be either under the control of the War Department or the Department of Interior. Slavery carried on practicing even the order of the President. Graves wanted

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to The Secretary of Interior, Washington: GPO, 1866. p. 31.

¹⁶⁴ Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy In New Mexico, Part II: 1858-1880"(1938):p. 22.

Congress to handle the issue and take proper measures in order to reduce the slavery in New Mexico.¹⁶⁵ After the reports of Graves, secretary of Interior, Harlan demanded from the War Department the transfer of the Navajo prisoners to the Department of Interior.¹⁶⁶ Also, he wanted to learn exact cost of subsidizing the Indians at Bosque Redondo. Harlan found that from March 1, 1864 to October 1 1865, the Navajo had costed \$ 1,114,981.70 to the War Department just for feeding. On September 19, 1866, the Secretary of War directed the Commander of the Missouri to relieve Carlton from the duty in New Mexico and order him to report to duty with his regiment in the Department of the Gulf. Carlton was ordered to turn over the control of the Navajo Indians to Agent Dodd. *New Mexican* newspaper announced removal of General Carlton with joy:

“ It thus appears that our territory will be relieved from the Presence of this man Carlton who has so long lorded among us For five years or more he has been in supreme command in New Mexico....The community at large will rejoice at his removal”¹⁶⁷

Carlton's assimilation policy of the Navajo through introducing farming, education and Christianity failed. The Bosque's unproductive land, crop failures, troubles between the Office of Indian Affairs and ignoring hostilities among the Indian tribes and cultural resistance by the Navajo made the Bosque disaster for the Navajos.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866, p. 32.

¹⁶⁶ Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy "(1938): p. 21.

¹⁶⁷ *New Mexican*, October 27th, 1866.

IV. CONCLUSION

The four-year confinement at the Bosque Redondo Reservation was both a tragedy and a triumph for the Navajo. On one hand, the Navajo suffered unprecedented material and cultural hardships after they gave up military resistance to the United States. Economic scarcity, a harsh climate, and unsympathetic federal overseers caused death, disease, and demoralization among the Navajo. On the other hand, unlike in earlier conflicts, all of the Navajo experienced the same difficulties at the same time at the Bosque. This shared suffering forced them to act as one people politically and culturally, and their collective resistance to assimilation helped convince Carlton's enemies at the Bureau of Indian Affairs to end the experiment at the Bosque. The Navajo never regained full political autonomy nor did they recapture thousands of acres of lost land, but they helped stop a policy that had as its end goal the eradication of the Navajo as a distinct cultural group.

The report of the Doolittle Committee was submitted to the U.S. Congress in 1868. As a result of the Report, Congress formed the U.S. Indian Peace Commission, a delegation composed of military men and civilians. The Commission went to the West to negotiate treaties with Native American tribes, including the Navajo, in order to settle them on reservations with well-defined borders.¹⁶⁹ The Peace Commission came to the Bosque at the end of May and the Navajo were allowed to return Dinetah under the terms of the Treaty of June 1, 1868. The treaty ended the suffering of the Navajo at the Bosque.

¹⁶⁹ Iverson, p. 41.

The United States wanted to corral the Navajo at the Bosque in order to open northern New Mexico and Arizona to economic exploitation by white farmer, miners, and railroad promoters. In addition to these familiar motives for Indian removal, Carlton wanted to test out an alternative to the government's policy of "treaty and segregation." Carlton's wanted to assimilate the Navajo into the American mainstream by supplanting herding with farming, family education with government schooling, and tribal religion with Christianity. If he succeeded, his plan could be applied to other tribes.

The Bosque Redondo experiment failed for three reasons. The land was not suited to farming. Second, Carlton's disagreements with Superintendents Steck, later Norton and Navajo agent Dodd, tied up funding for the reservation. Finally, the Navajo fought against the assimilation program and made it unworkable even had the other conditions been better. Carlton did not assimilate the Navajo Indians by teaching them American ways. Since their migration to the Southwest, the Navajo consistently adapted traits of other cultures to fit their own needs, and rejected traits that did not benefit them. For instance, the Navajo domesticated sheep and horses in imitation of the Spaniards and made these innovations central features of their economy, but they rejected Christianity because its cosmology offered no compelling arguments for the abandonment of Navajo myths and beliefs related to Dinetah and the world around it. Traditional cultural practices that distinguished the Navajo from outsiders helped them resist Carlton's assimilation program at the Bosque Redondo. For example, their religion gave them a rationale for rejecting adobe homes and modern medical treatment. Religious ceremonies that focused on prayers for return to Dinetah

gave the Navajo a sense of common spirit that helped them to return there. The way that culture informed Navajo resistance is exemplified in Barboncito's reply to General Sherman's proposal that they move to Oklahoma. Barboncito said that,

Our grandfathers had no idea of living any other country except our and I do not think that it is right for us to do so, as we were never taught to. When the Navajos were first created four mountains and four rivers were pointed out to us, inside of which we should live that was our country and was given to us by the first woman of the Navajo tribe. It was told to us by our forefathers that we were never to the east of Rio Grande or west of San Juan Rivers and I think coming here has been the cause of much death among us and our animals . . . we plant but it does not yield because we were brought here.¹⁷⁰

Sherman understood the impossibility of removing the Navajo to the east because of their "strong prejudices" about their land.¹⁷¹ General Carlton subdued the Navajo Indians militarily but he did not break the firmly established Navajo culture.

Despite their success in preserving their culture and holding onto some part of the Dinétah, the Navajo were changed by the Bosque years. The defeat inflicted by Carson and the four years of close supervision by the U.S. army ended Navajo military raids on rival settlements. In addition, the seeds of Navajo political unity were sewn at the Bosque. The Treaty of June 1, 1868 gave the Navajo back one-fourth of their traditional territory. To regain the land covered by the Four Sacred Mountains became ultimate goal of all Navajos. Over the years, peaceful negotiations with the federal government enabled the Navajo to enlarge their reservation from 3,500,000 acres to 16,000,000. Today the Navajo

¹⁷⁰ Barboncito To Sherman, May 28th 1868, Correll, Vol 6, pp.31-32.

¹⁷¹ Sherman to Grant, 7th June 1868, M666 Rqll 639, 1868.

occupy the largest reservation in the United States, and have the largest reservation population (150,000).

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